

CHILD LABOR: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Isaac Karikari

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in the School of Social Work,

Indiana University

June 2016

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Doctoral Committee

Khadija Khaja, Ph.D, Chair

Margaret E. Adamek, Ph.D

Hasan Reza, Ph.D

March 23, 2016

Peter Seybold, Ph.D

©2016

Isaac Karikari

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my Dad, Kwame Nti Karikari, who has always demonstrated that education is the best of legacies.

And to my mom, Akua Afriyie for the pillar she's been.

I also dedicate this to my wife, Grace, for her grace, wisdom and strength; and to my son, Tim-Aizaek, for the joy he brings, and all the other intangibles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

He makes me lie down in green pastures, and He restores my soul. Though I walk through valleys of uncertainty and despair I will fear no evil....I give the utmost thanks to God, the Grand Weaver for His abiding presence and grace throughout this journey. Quoting the words of Sir Isaac Newton, I state that “if I have seen further it is by standing on the shoulders of Giants.” I owe the successful completion of this dissertation, and my doctoral studies as a whole to many. Just as it takes a village to raise a child, it takes communal effort to raise a scholar; and I feel blessed and fortunate to have had a strong base of support.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my dissertation committee for their immense support and intellectual contributions as I embarked on this journey. I greatly appreciate the remarkable sacrifices they made in helping see this project through. I am grateful for their wisdom and guidance, and the practicality of their suggestions. I am also grateful for the freedom to have a voice and maintain ownership of the process. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Khadija Khaja, my Chair, Dr. Margaret Adamek, Dr. Hasan Reza, and Dr. Peter Seybold.

I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to the Indiana University School of Social Work. I am very appreciative of the support I have received throughout my doctoral studies. I especially want to thank Dean Michael Patchner (thank you for the minimum-of-15-minute-a day-of -writing advice), Dr. Cathy Pike, Dr. Margaret Adamek, Dr. Theresa Roberts, Dr. Bob Vernon, Dr. Bill Barton, Dr. Kathy Lay, Dr. James Hall, Dr. Hea-Won Kim, Dr. Carmen Luca Sugawara, Dr. Carol Hostetter, Dr. James Daley, Dr. Virgil Gregory, Dr. Barbara Pierce, and Dr. Irene Queiro-Tajalli. I would also like to

thank Julia Carter, Sameeh Khamis, Celisa Snyder, Ali Godby-Schwab, and Patriece Roulette Landis. You all helped create a positive experience for me in the program.

I would like to recognize the remarkable support I have received from Dr. Carolyn Gentle-Genitty (and Keith Genitty) and Dr. James Brown (and Tammy Brown), Dr. Richard Beyogle, Dr. Augustina Naami, Dr. Yaa Akosa Antwi, and Isaac Amoah-Sagoe (who taught me the discipline of studying). Thank you all for your mentoring, and for being “Yoda” to me.

There are several others who also deserve “Thank you’s”: Dr. Ian McIntosh and Dr. Pauline Spiegel for helping me develop my anthropological perspectives; Dr. Brian Steensland (Liberal Arts, IUPUI), Dr. Jessica Lester (Inquiry Methodology, IU Bloomington), and Gabriel Ankrah (Valley View University, Ghana), for their invaluable support, and being available for the CDA and textual analysis consultations; Francesca White, Christian McKay, and Zulfukar Ozdogan (Inquiry Methodology Department, IU Bloomington) for their helpful insight on the use of CDA. Zulfukar, thanks for your constancy and consistency, and the smoothies and coffee.

I am also appreciative of the collegiality in the social work program. Once again, thank you to Dr. Adamek, and all the students (past and present) in the program. I have benefitted from the insights of many of my colleagues in and outside the classroom. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Andricus Hutcherson, Evan Harris, Dr. Kyle McGregor, Pinkie Evans, Eun Hye Yi (and Saeun Song), Jangmin Kim (and Areum), John Coco, Richard Friedman, Sheila Dennis, Marie Danh, Dr. Jennifer Anderson, Charli Champion-Shaw, Haresh Dalvi, Taeyeung Park, and Dr. Kori Bloomquist.

To Stephanie Quiring, Dr. Matthew Moore, Dr. Govind Dhaske, and Dr. Marva Augustine, I say “Thank You” all for the free consultations and your willingness to share your experiences whenever I called on you. A special thank you to Hyemin Son for being there for me on countless occasions. I am also grateful to Dean NaShara Mitchell, and UPnGO, and the Institute on Teaching and Mentoring.

Special thanks go to my professors at the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana: Professor K.O. Akuoko, Dr. K.O. Dua, Dr. P. Dwumah, Mr. Barnie, Dr. F. Azumah, Ms. Harriet Takyi, Dr. Oheneba Manu, and Bishop Dr. Festus Yeboah Asuamah. Special thanks also go to my professors at the University of Utah College of Social Work: Dr. Joanna Bettmann-Schaefer, Dr. Jason Castillo, Dr. Caren Frost, Mrs. Delva Hommes, Ms. Trinh Mai and Mr. Mark de St. Aubin (who encouraged me to play on the court), Dr. Hank Liese, Dean Jannah Mather, Dr. Rosie Hunter (who told me IUPUI’s social work program was an excellent fit for me), Dr. Ruth Gerritsen-McKane, Mrs. Helane Leta, and Ms. Corinne Johnson.

I am sincerely grateful for the love and support of my family (my parents and siblings, Bishop Festus, Mother Felicia and the entire Yeboah Asuamah family, Susie Agble, Uncle Tim, Uncle Roland, Maa Esther, Aama, and Auntie Julie).

I have been fortunate to have friends and people who have provided inspiration and encouragement throughout this journey. Thanks to Dr. Samuel Asante, Dr. Christopher Adjei, Bismark Bartels, Kofi Adjei-Mensah, Jacob Gbogbo, Dr. Thomas Kakule, Dr. Howard Lakougna, Joseph Morrison, Michelle Twali, Rana Smalling, Martha, Henok, Kwaku Baryeh, Tobokane Manthai, Richard Twumasi (Panyin), Gordon Kisseih, John and Eli Essegbey, and Terrick and Nana Yaa Andey.

I am also grateful to Keith and Miriam Phinney, Naveen and Autumn Pammi, Dane Hess, Dr. Michael and Gladys Adjei-Poku, the Boampongs, Keith and Natalie Back, Ps. David and Shana Wigington, Jim and Dana Sowders, Ps. Nathan LaGrange, Ps. Peter and Paulina Asiamah, Donald and Dzifa Buaku, Mandla and Kristen Moyo, Chris and Whitney Horseley, Kudzai Farai, Jonathan Baiden, and Derek Bonta for being good to me (and my family).

I know the path to the PhD started long before I entered the doctoral program. So in conclusion, I want to acknowledge and thank all those who believed in me, and made me stay on the right path and aspire higher, especially Mr. Vincent Acquaaah, George Ampratwum, Mrs. Mabel Arthur, Mrs. Emelia Mensah, Ms. Veronica Ampofo, and Ms. Cecilia Awittor.

Isaac Karikari

CHILD LABOR: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Child labor is a complex global phenomenon. Though poverty is widely accepted as the primary cause of child labor, there are many dimensions of the phenomenon that still remain to be explored. Very little attention has been given to the policies that drive efforts to address child labor and how they are framed. Of particular interest is how we determine who is a child, and the notions of childhood underpinning these policies. Less attention has been given to the relationships and power dynamics underlying the policy-making process that surrounds this discourse.

A qualitative method, namely, critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to examine the discursive construction of children and childhood in child labor discourse. Underlying power dynamics through the analysis of diverse child labor-related policies at the global (ILO), regional (OAU/AU), sub-regional (ECOWAS), global/sub-regional (Harkin-Engel Protocol), and local (Ghana) levels was explored.

Findings revealed that homogenized and hegemonic trends are visible in child labor discourse. While the ILO's discourse on child labor was either reproduced or referenced in the other policies, there was generally a homogenized definition of children based on Western social constructions and views of children. Child labor policies were not fully cognizant or sensitive to local constructions and conceptions of how we define children and what we determine are appropriate roles at various ages. In particular reference to Ghana, the Government of Ghana's child labor policies did not reflect the sociological and cultural realities of the nation. Findings of the study also suggest that for some organizations and countries, especially in the Global South, political and economic

considerations influenced whose voices were included in child labor policy creation.

Critical discourse implications for social work education, policy analysis, practice and research are discussed

Khadija Khaja, PhD, Chair

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| Background of the Problem | 1 |
| Significance of the Study | 3 |
| Area of Interest for the Study..... | 9 |
| Scope of the Study | 10 |
| Research Questions | 11 |
| Organization of Chapters | 12 |
| CHAPTER TWO. LITERATURE REVIEW | 13 |
| Child Labor: Global Prevalence and Rates | 13 |
| Child Domestic Work | 16 |
| Ghana - Country Profile..... | 17 |
| Child Labor in Ghana: Prevalence and Incidence..... | 18 |
| Causes of Child Labor | 23 |
| Effects of Child Labor | 28 |
| Penalties Faced by Countries and Institutions Involved in Child Labor | 31 |
| Policy Framework..... | 33 |
| Notions of Children and Childhood..... | 36 |
| Western/Non-Western Dichotomy..... | 44 |
| Gaps in the Literature..... | 45 |
| CHAPTER THREE. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK..... | 48 |
| Introduction..... | 48 |
| Ecological Systems Theory..... | 48 |
| Postcolonial Theory | 52 |
| Conclusion | 56 |
| CHAPTER FOUR. RESEARCH METHODS | 57 |
| Introduction..... | 57 |
| The Qualitative Paradigm | 57 |
| Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) | 59 |
| Definition of Hegemony and Power.. | 59 |
| CDA Types and Principles..... | 60 |
| Critiques of CDA.. | 62 |
| Fairclough's Approach to CDA | 65 |
| Meaning of Socio-semiotic | 66 |
| Establishing Trustworthiness | 67 |
| The Positioning of the Researcher and Reflexivity | 69 |
| Ethical Considerations | 73 |
| Sampling | 74 |
| Sampling Rationale..... | 74 |
| Data Collection | 75 |
| Data Analysis | 75 |
| The Analytic Process | 76 |
| Analytic Tools (Explained)..... | 78 |
| The Three-Dimensional Framework..... | 821 |
| Textual Analysis. | 82 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Analysis of Discourse Practice (Discursive Practice)..... | 84 |
| Forms of Intertextuality | 86 |
| Analysis of Social/Sociocultural Practice..... | 88 |
| Conclusion and Outline of the Analysis Chapters | 90 |
| CHAPTER FIVE. THE ILO CONVENTIONS..... | 94 |
| Introduction..... | 94 |
| The ILO Conventions | 95 |
| Social/Sociocultural Practice | 95 |
| ILO – Origins and Formation.. | 95 |
| National and Regional Composition of the ILO’s Organs..... | 100 |
| The ILO’s Dualist Approach. | 101 |
| Child Labor.. | 102 |
| Post World War II. | 103 |
| Institutional Process..... | 105 |
| Organs of the ILO and the Drafting of the Conventions.. | 106 |
| Textual Analysis | 108 |
| Formal Structure.. | 108 |
| Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis. | 110 |
| Linguistic Analysis.. | 113 |
| The Nature of Childhood and the Employment of Children..... | 113 |
| Recontextualizing Child Work and Employment. | 116 |
| The Nature of Social and Political Relations.:..... | 120 |
| The ILO’s Position and Power in Relation to its Members.. | 125 |
| Modality. | 127 |
| Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)..... | 129 |
| Discourse Process/Intertextuality..... | 129 |
| Manifest Intertextuality..... | 130 |
| Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence..... | 133 |
| Conclusion | 135 |
| CHAPTER SIX. THE OAU/AU ACRWC, THE ECOWAS RAP, AND THE HARKIN-ENGEL PROTOCOL | 137 |
| THE OAU/AU ACRWC..... | 137 |
| Introduction..... | 137 |
| Social/Sociocultural Practice | 138 |
| Origins of the OAU/AU..... | 138 |
| Transition from OAU to AU..... | 138 |
| Human Rights.. | 139 |
| Institutional Process..... | 141 |
| Textual Analysis | 142 |
| Formal Structure. | 142 |
| Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis.. .. | 142 |
| Linguistic Analysis. | 143 |
| The Distinctiveness of the African Child..... | 143 |
| Distinct Child-rearing Practices..... | 145 |
| The Power and the Authority of the OAU/AU and the ACRWC..... | 147 |
| Child Labor. | 149 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)..... | 150 |
| Discourse Process/Intertextuality..... | 151 |
| Manifest Intertextuality..... | 152 |
| Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence..... | 153 |
| Foregrounding..... | 154 |
| Conclusion | 155 |
| The ECOWAS Regional Action Plan (RAP)..... | 156 |
| Introduction..... | 156 |
| Social/Sociocultural Practice | 157 |
| Textual Analysis | 159 |
| Formal Structure. | 159 |
| Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis. | 159 |
| Linguistic Analysis. | 160 |
| Views and Beliefs about Children. | 160 |
| Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)..... | 162 |
| Discourse Process/Intertextuality..... | 162 |
| Constitutive Intertextuality. | 162 |
| Manifest Intertextuality..... | 163 |
| Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence..... | 164 |
| Absence..... | 165 |
| Conclusion | 165 |
| The Harkin-Engel Protocol | 166 |
| Introduction..... | 166 |
| Social/Sociocultural Practice | 166 |
| Textual Analysis | 169 |
| Formal Structure. | 169 |
| Linguistic Analysis. | 171 |
| Evaluation of Child Labor. | 171 |
| Grammatical Features | 173 |
| Prescriptions for Actions to Address WFCL. | 173 |
| Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)..... | 175 |
| Discourse Process/Intertextuality..... | 175 |
| Constitutive Intertextuality.. | 175 |
| Manifest Intertextuality..... | 176 |
| Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence..... | 177 |
| Conclusion | 180 |
| CHAPTER SEVEN. THE GHANA CHILDREN’S ACT | 181 |
| Introduction..... | 181 |
| Social/Sociocultural Practice | 181 |
| Textual Analysis | 184 |
| Formal Structure. | 184 |
| Linguistic Analysis.. | 185 |
| Differentiation of Forms of Child Labor | 185 |
| Grammatical Features. | 187 |
| Concern with Child Labor. | 187 |
| Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)..... | 190 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Discourse Process/Intertextuality..... | 190 |
| Manifest Intertextuality..... | 190 |
| Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence..... | 192 |
| Conclusion | 193 |
| CHAPTER EIGHT. SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSIONS | 194 |
| Introduction..... | 194 |
| Summary | 194 |
| Findings..... | 198 |
| Who is a Child. | 198 |
| Nature and Form of Childhood..... | 199 |
| Power Relations in the Discourse on Child Labor..... | 202 |
| The ILO's Institutional Hegemony..... | 202 |
| Other Observations.. .. | 204 |
| Impact of Conceptualizations of Who is a Child, Nature and Form of Childhood on Child Labor in Ghana..... | 204 |
| Discussion | 205 |
| Study Implications | 216 |
| Implications for Practice. | 216 |
| Implications for Research. | 217 |
| Implications for Social Work Education..... | 218 |
| Limitations | 218 |
| Future Research Directions..... | 220 |
| Conclusion | 221 |
| APPENDICES | 224 |
| REFERENCES | 236 |
| CURRICULUM VITAE | |

LIST OF TABLES

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 1: Work Activities and Risks | 6 |
| Table 2: Global Incidence of Child Labor | 15 |
| Table 3: Child Labor: Regional Breakdown | 15 |
| Table 4: Worst Forms of Child Labor (WFCL): Regional Breakdown | 15 |
| Table 5: Child Work Activities and WFCL | 21 |
| Table 6: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Socio-Semiotic CDA Model | 82 |
| Table 7: Contractual Clause Indicating Time Frames for the Conventions | 112 |
| Table 8: Time-bound Key Action Plan Steps of the Harkin-Engel Protocol | 177 |
| Table 9: Witnesses and Signatories of the Harkin-Engel Protocol | 179 |

LIST OF FIGURES

| | |
|---|-----|
| Figure 1: Ghana: Child Population and Child Labor Breakdown..... | 20 |
| Figure 2: CDA Types and Approaches | 62 |
| Figure 3: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Socio-Semiotic CDA Model | 67 |
| Figure 4: Screen Shot of MAXQDA | 79 |
| Figure 5: Diagram of the Analytic Process | 196 |
| Figure 6: Mapping of Intertextual Patterns | 197 |

LIST OF PICTURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Picture 1: Pictures of Child Work Activities | 22 |
| Picture 2: Trokosi | 24 |
| Picture 3: Under Age Voters | 42 |

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Child labor is an age old phenomenon and a widespread issue affecting over 160 million of the world's children (Diallo, Etienne & Mehran, 2013). Child labor has generally been defined as work that poses a risk to the physical and psychological development of children (International Labour¹ Organization [ILO], 2004). Thus, many have viewed the practice as detrimental to the well-being and development of children due to the actual or potential hazards such as injuries and deaths often associated with children's work activities in areas such as farming, fishing, mining, and stone quarrying (Beegle, Dehejia & Gatti, 2009; Diallo et al., 2013; Diallo, Hagemann, Etienne, Gurbuzer, & Mehran, 2010; Fors, 2012; Grier, 2004).

The large number of children involved in child labor across the world has made it an issue of global concern. Hence, efforts to address child labor have been taken on globally by organizations such as the ILO (Beegle et al., 2009; Diallo et al., 2010; Fors, 2012; Grier, 2004). Since 1919, the ILO has provided minimum age conventions that provide a framework for actions to curb child labor across the globe, stating that until children reach a particular age they should not be employed. This age, commonly referred to as the minimum age for employment, is currently set at 15 years (ILO, n.d.a). However, ILO member countries with weak economic and educational infrastructure can even have the minimum age set at 14 years (ILO, n.d.a). In some cases such as the

¹ Throughout this dissertation both British (labour) and American (labor) spellings are used. In instances where direct quotations are involved the spelling used in the original source is maintained. In other instances, as in the case of the International Labour Organization, the spelling is maintained for official reasons.

employment of children in light work, which is work that is not deemed harmful to children's health and development, and also not likely to affect their schooling, the minimum age for employment has been set at 13 years (ILO, n.d.a). For countries with a weak economy or inadequate educational facilities, the minimum age for light work can even been set at 12 years (ILO, n.d.a). This may explain why child labor reports on many countries including Ghana, Kenya, Zambia, India, and Nepal largely use the 5-14 years age bracket in reporting the incidence of child labor (United States Department of Labor, 2014).

Further, the ILO states that any individual under 18 years is not to be employed or engaged in sex-related work such as prostitution or pornographic acts, and the couriering of drugs. Such activities constitute what is termed the worst forms of child labor (WFCL) or hazardous work. WFCL also includes the engagement of children as combatants in armed conflicts, debt bondage, and serfdom (ILO, 1999). This means that any country that has children under the age of 18 years involved in any of the above-mentioned activities is engaging in the worst forms of child labor (ILO, n.d.a; ILO, 1999).

The ILO, since its formation in 1919, has been the main global body working with the governments of various countries and regional bodies to encourage the adoption of its conventions to deal with child labor to ensure the protection of children from exploitative labor. What has been problematic has been the definition of what constitutes child labor and who has the right to decide this especially given different country cultural norms and needs, cultural values, and belief systems (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004). This is an issue of prime concern because universal assumptions about what constitutes child labor have often been shaped by particular notions and conceptions of who is a child and what

constitutes childhood (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). There have been few studies that have examined how the ILO came up with its universal definition of who is a child and what constitutes childhood (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Nsamenang, 2008).

The ILO is part of a powerful network of development-oriented institutions, such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, popularly known as the World Bank, and the United Nations, with an expressed objective of reducing poverty, inequality, and promoting the well-being of children and families across the globe (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Amin, 2013, 2014; Laird, 2012; Twum-Danso, 2008). Nevertheless, these institutions have their origins in the West, and some have worried about the continued dominance and influence of Western nations in the ILO's policies, programming, and operations (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Amin, 2013, 2014; Laird, 2012; Twum-Danso, 2008). Governments of countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America have been reported to generally cave in to demands of the ILO and its network of development institutions in order to receive economic and developmental assistance. This has led to ongoing concerns that many non-Western nations have been limited in the degree to which they can critique or influence the policies of the ILO and its partner institutions (Amin, 2013, 2014; Laird, 2012; Takyi-Amoako, 2011; Twum-Danso, 2008).

Significance of the Study

Recent reports indicate there is a decline in the global incidence of child labor, yet this decline is only marginal in many regions of the world, notably Sub-Saharan Africa (Diallo et al., 2013; GNA, 2014). For example, the estimated number of working children in Ghana has more than doubled from approximately 1.2 million in 2000, to over 2.7

million in 2013. The Ghanaian case is not an exception as a similar trend can be found among Ghana's Sub-Saharan Africa neighbors. In Burkina Faso, between 2006 and 2013, the number of working children increased from approximately 1.6 million (37.8%) to approximately 2.1 million (43.5%). The estimated percentages of working children in Cote D'Ivoire has slightly increased from 36.7% in 2000 to 39.8% in 2013 (United States Department of Labor, 2014)². Togo is probably one of the countries that may have made significant strides. There has been a dramatic decline in its estimated population of working children from over 60% in the previous decade to 35.7% in 2013. However, the 2013 percentage of 35.7% shows a marginal increase in the incidence of working children because in 2006, the estimated percentage was 32.7% (United States Department of Labor, 2014)³.

Many children continue to remain at short-term and long-term risk of engaging in child labor (ILO, 2010). Some of the short-term or immediate consequences of child labor are increased child and adolescent mortality and lack of schooling. The long-term consequences include low literacy, lack of skills for professional employment, and the development of health complications (Clark-Bennett, Hodne, & Sherer, 2004; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Emerson & Souza, 2011) (see Table 1). Others have reported that child labor has the tendency to inhibit the physical, psychological, social, and moral

² The statistics provided here may vary from what other reports contain. For instance, the Ghana Statistical Service (2014) reports that the number of working children in Ghana is approximately 2.4 million whereas the United States Department of Labor (2014) gives an estimate of about 2.7 million. The lack of uniform statistics is a contentious issue and one of the many criticisms in child labor discourse.

³ The statistics provided here may vary from what other reports contain. For instance the Ghana Statistical Service (2014) reports that the number of working children in Ghana is approximately 2.4 million whereas the United States Department of Labor (2014) gives an estimate of about 2.7 million. The lack of uniform statistics is a contentious issue and one of the many criticisms in child labor discourse.

development of children (Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Agyemang, 2006; Beegle et al., 2009; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fors, 2012; Grier, 2004; O'Donnell, Rosati & van Doorslaer, 2005; Tetteh, 2011).

These risks and dangers may be compounded by other working conditions (Clark-Bennett et al., 2004). For example, the lack of clean water or proper bathroom facilities in most of the places where children work means that they may be spending considerable time in unhygienic surroundings. Again, they may not be able to thoroughly or adequately clean up after having handled or applied chemicals and pesticides; therefore, heightening the risk of their exposure to pesticides and chemicals. Also, most machines and working implements and tools are not designed with children in mind. Thus, children's use of these tools poses a danger to them. This may also be compounded by the children's inexperience in handling such tools (Clark-Bennett et al., 2004).

Developmentally, there are physiological differences in the bodies of adults and children. Children are more likely to struggle with things which adults may find tolerable. Children and adults generally react to things differently just because of the differences in the development and maturation of their bodies and organs. Children may not be able to handle high temperatures as much as adults. Again, when exposed to the same quantities of dust and chemicals, there may be a greater accumulation of these elements in children than in adults (Clark-Bennett et al., 2004). Table 1 below lists some of the work activities and the associated risks and dangers.

Table 1: Work Activities and Risks

| Activity/Incident | Risk/Danger |
|--------------------------|--|
| Exposure to Pesticides | Dermatitis, cancer, congenital defects, reproductive issues, organ disorders |
| Porterage of Heavy Loads | Damage to the body's skeletal frame |
| Use of Machines | Risk of hearing loss/impairment Injuries |

(Clark-Bennett et al., 2004)

There have been numerous studies about child labor (e.g., Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Agyemang, 2006; Basu, 1999; Basu & Van, 1998; Beegle et al., 2009; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fors, 2012; Grier, 2004; O'Donnell et al., 2005; Tetteh, 2011). Nevertheless, they have not adequately explored how the economic vulnerability of families, increased unemployment, and poverty have led to the reliance of families on child labor simply to survive. More research is also needed to examine diverse cultural viewpoints towards child labor, and how global political and economic policies have impacted the incidence of child labor. There appear to be imbalances in delineating the plurality of factors that have given rise to child labor (Admassie, 2002; Krauss, 2013). Some scholars have even argued that studies have overemphasized the role of poverty and economic considerations in the incidence of child labor (Basu, 1999; Basu & Van, 1998; Beegle et al., 2009; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Krauss, 2013).

While acknowledging the primary role poverty plays in the occurrence of child labor, Shelburne (2001) also suggested that there are other factors responsible for child labor because even with the same average income, some countries had significant

variations in child labor. He therefore asks the question, “why, then, have some societies structured their social institutions so that significant numbers of children have to or are likely to work, while others have established institutions that make such a practice unacceptable?” (p. 361). Shelburne’s (2001) question speaks to the complexity of child labor and emphasizes the need for us to consider other factors that impact the incidence of child labor rather than solely focusing on the economic aspects (Beegle et al., 2009; Chirwa, 1993; Fors, 2012; Grier, 2004; Saad-lessler, 2010). More research on macro and structural political-economic conditions and socio-cultural conditions that can influence the prevalence of child labor is needed. Further studies on child labor can help uncover the many layers, facets, and complexities of the problem (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Grier, 2004; Kim, Zepeda & Kantor, 2005; Nsamenang, 2008).

If we are to effectively apply the ILO’s conventions, and other policies aimed at addressing child labor, we must have a better understanding of the communities and people who live in areas where child labor is common. What do the communities recommend? What has been their experience? Why does the practice still go on? Countless policies designed to address child labor have clearly proved ineffective and in fact may have alienated or scapegoated some of the very communities they were designed to help (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Basu & Van, 1998; Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). It is important to note that the problematizing of child labor is considered a relatively recent phenomenon tied to various socioeconomic, cultural, and political developments (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Barusch, 2012; Khan, 2010; Nieuwenhuys, 1996).

Nieuwenhuys (1996) traces these changes to Western industrial society. According to Nieuwenhuys (1996), there has been an ideological shift concerning the place and roles of children in modern society. Interestingly, this new orientation has become a measure of modernity and development, and the means by which countries are assessed. She noted that a new framework rooted in Western ideals was being expounded as a universal standard for global application through global organizations such as the ILO. Some of the components of this framework are presented below. Chronological age is made the legally sanctioned measure for determining the maturity of children. The social and cultural values attached to age are de-emphasized. Further, childhood is dissociated from engagement in various work activities. Child labor has been ascribed a negative label, and nations where child labor is common are generally viewed unfavorably.

For these reasons some scholars argue that as it stands now, the ILO's conventions convey a definition of children and childhood that may very well be at cultural odds with communities where child labor is practiced (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Lord, 2011; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Nkamelu, 2009; Nordtveit, 2010; Nsamenang, 2008; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). So what often results is an imposition of standards and measures that do not truly reflect the beliefs and cultural norms of these communities (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Lord, 2011; Twum-Danso, 2008). Hence, an understanding of different social and cultural perspectives is necessary if we are to find effective and lasting solutions to the child labor problem in places where it is common (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). Otherwise, as Nordtveit (2010) declares, "such discontinuities risk leading to a clash between local and international discourse that

may reduce project or policy effectiveness, or constrict local populations to the acceptance of an international discourse produced by foreign experts” (p. 700).

Concerning the experts to whom Nordtveit (2010) makes reference, it is not their identity or geographic location that is a matter of concern. Rather, it is the lack of applicability, and the disconnect between their frameworks and terms of reference, and the local situation that causes concern (Nsamenang, 2008).

Further, the method utilized for this study – Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) – though popular in the field of education, language and linguistic studies, political science, etc. (Carter, 2011; Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Hill, 2009; Post, 2009; Van Dijk, 2008) is a rarely used method in social work research. Also, very few scholars (e.g. Estacio & Marks, 2005; Laird, 2011; Nordtveit, 2010) have applied CDA or even discourse analysis to child labor. This study therefore presents social work practitioners and other professionals with an alternative, if not novel way, to examine the child labor issue.

Area of Interest for the Study

In Ghana, close to two million children are involved in child labor with several others also at risk (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2012, 2014). Ghana is located in the West African sub-region of Sub-Saharan Africa where efforts to address child labor have generally yielded marginal outcomes (Ghana Statistical Service [GSS], 2012, 2014). Also, Ghana continues to attract attention as a central point and destination for forced labor and sex trafficking involving children (United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Affairs, n.d.). Ghana, together with the Ivory Coast, is also ranked as one of the countries with a high incidence of child labor in the cocoa sector in West Africa which produces about two-thirds of the world’s cocoa (Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006;

Payson Center for International Development, 2011). Some reports indicate that, in Ghana, there are about a million children involved in child labor in the cocoa sector alone. The situation is deemed to be so alarming that legislation has been created to primarily address child labor in the cocoa sector in Ghana and the Ivory Coast (Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006; Payson Center for International Development, 2011).

Attempts to address the child labor problem in Ghana through government legislation such as the Children's Act and the domestication of international conventions and protocols, mainly the ILO's conventions, have not yielded the desired results (Hilson, 2010). This has raised questions about the practical value and efficacy of such conventions because there appear to be numerous disparities between what the international ILO conventions expect countries to enforce versus how they actually end up being implemented by government and state institutions (Hilson, 2010). Additionally, what has been lacking has been a detailed analysis of how a country's citizens determine what age constitutes being a child, and their own unique views of roles that are appropriate during childhood (Chirwa, 1993; Krauss, 2013; Lord, 2011). This could explain why even though there are numerous international laws against child labor such as ILO Convention 138 and ILO Convention 182, nevertheless, they have had minimal impact.

Scope of the Study

This study entails a Critical Discourse Analysis of policy documents related to child labor, covering child labor discourse at the global (ILO), regional (OAU/AU), sub-regional (ECOWAS), global/sub-regional (Harkin-Engel Protocol), and local (Ghana) levels. The Harkin-Engel Protocol straddles the line between the global and the sub-

regional levels. Though the study primarily concentrated on 16 policy documents, the analysis was expanded to include other documents as well based on theoretical sampling. This research focused on textual data and did not include any interviews or field observations. The documents that formed the core of the study date from the early 1900s through the late 1990s, the early 2000s, and the current decade. Also, as indicated above, the examination of child labor discourse is done with a particular focus on Ghana.

Research Questions

Generally, child labor discourse has been characterized by some absolutism and assumptions of a similar, constant, uniform perspective of children and childhood which is mostly evident in the attempts that have been made to develop a universal framework to deal with the practice (Estacio & Marks, 2005). The study sought to understand a unique dimension of the child labor problem – the notions and conceptions of who is considered a child and what childhood entails in various policy documents on child labor. The primary documents that were examined are the ILO's conventions on child labor and other policy documents, namely, the Children's Act of Ghana, the African Union's African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), the ECOWAS Regional Action Plan (RAP), and the Harkin-Engel Protocol (see Appendix A). The examination of these policy documents is aimed at identifying possible disparities/similarities in the views and perceptions of who is a child, and what is defined as childhood and the impact this has on child labor discourse. Finally, the study seeks to identify the sociocultural processes these texts are a part of, the social and political conditions surrounding their creation, and the likely effects on child labor discourse. In view of this, the following questions are raised:

What are the power relationships in the discourse on child labor between the ILO and the Government of Ghana? Whose voice has power in the development of these conventions and provisions on child labor? These questions are further broken down into the following which served as my primary research questions:

- How is a child defined according to the ILO and the Government of Ghana?
- How is childhood defined according to the ILO and the Government of Ghana?
- Who is defined as a child, and what is considered to be the form and nature of childhood according to the AU Charter, ECOWAS RAP, and the Harkin-Engel Protocol?
- What has been the impact of these beliefs, views, and conceptualizations on dealing with child labor in Ghana?

Organization of Chapters

For organizational and descriptive purposes, the chapters of this dissertation have been organized into three parts. The first part, the “opening chapters,” consists of the introduction, the literature review, the theoretical framework, and the research methods. The second part, the “analysis chapters,” consists of the analysis and preliminary discussion of the findings for the ILO Conventions, the OAU/AU African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), the ECOWAS Regional Action Plan, the Harkin-Engel Protocol, and the Ghana Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560). The third part, the “concluding chapter,” presents the summary of the study, my findings, and the discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Child Labor: Global Prevalence and Rates

Child labor has historically been defined as “work that deprives children of their childhood, their potential and their dignity, and that is harmful to physical and mental development” (ILO, 2004, p. 16). The ILO’s global estimates for child labor revealed that in 2008, there were about 215 million children engaged in both part-time and full-time economic activities considered as child labor across the globe (ILO, 2010). The latest ILO global estimate reported in 2012 shows that the number has since dropped to 168 million (Diallo et al., 2013). Regarding the regional/geographic breakdown, the Asia-Pacific region still has more child laborers than any other region in absolute terms despite the decline in the incidence of child labor from about 114 million to 77.7 million in that region. This is followed by Sub-Saharan Africa, with 59 million children and Latin America with 12.5 million children. The previous figures for Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America in 2008 were 65 million and 14 million, respectively (Diallo et al., 2013). Sub-Saharan Africa remains the region with the highest incidence of child labor (Diallo et al., 2013). An estimated one in five children is involved in child labor in the region. This has not changed much from 2008 when every one of every four children was involved in child labor in Sub-Saharan Africa (Diallo et al., 2013) (See Tables 2 and 3).

Further, the number of children involved in hazardous work, defined as work that endangers their physical, psychological and moral health, also fell from about 115 million in 2008 to about 85 million in 2012 (Diallo et al., 2013). The trend also remains the same for the region with the largest number of children in WFCL. The Asia-Pacific region

comes first with 33.9 million, followed by Sub-Saharan Africa with 28.8 million and Latin America and the Caribbean with 9.6 million. However, with one in every ten children involved in WFCL, Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest incidence of children in WFCL (Diallo et al., 2013) (see Tables 1-3). In the 2008 global estimates report, the sectorial breakdown indicated that 60% of these children worked in the agriculture sector whereas over 25% were in services, and 7% percent were in industry (ILO, 2010). With the exception of services, there is very little variation in the statistics obtained in 2012 when 58.6% of children were in the agriculture sector, 7.2% in industry, and 32.3% in the services sector. Overall, over 68% of child laborers are contributing family workers (Diallo et al., 2013) (See Table 4).

The tables below (Tables 2, 3, and 4) present data on the global and regional prevalence and trends in child labor and the worst forms of child labor. They correspond to the statistical information presented above.

Table 2: Global Incidence of Child Labor

| | Total children | Children in employment | | Child labour | | Hazardous work | |
|--------------------|----------------|------------------------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| | ('000) | ('000) | % | ('000) | % | ('000) | % |
| World | | | | | | | |
| 2008 | 1,586,288 | 305,669 | 19.3 | 215,269 | 13.6 | 115,314 | 7.3 |
| 2012 | 1,585,566 | 264,427 | 16.7 | 167,956 | 10.6 | 85,344 | 5.4 |
| Boys | | | | | | | |
| 2008 | 819,891 | 175,777 | 21.4 | 127,761 | 15.6 | 74,019 | 9.0 |
| 2012 | 819,877 | 148,327 | 18.1 | 99,766 | 12.2 | 55,048 | 6.7 |
| Girls | | | | | | | |
| 2008 | 766,397 | 129,892 | 16.9 | 87,508 | 11.4 | 41,296 | 5.4 |
| 2012 | 765,690 | 116,100 | 15.2 | 68,190 | 8.9 | 30,296 | 4.0 |
| 5-14 years | | | | | | | |
| 2008 | 1,216,854 | 176,452 | 14.5 | 152,850 | 12.6 | 52,895 | 4.3 |
| 2012 | 1,221,071 | 144,066 | 11.8 | 120,453 | 9.9 | 37,841 | 3.1 |
| 15-17 years | | | | | | | |
| 2008 | 369,433 | 129,217 | 35.0 | 62,419 | 16.9 | 62,419 | 16.9 |
| 2012 | 364,495 | 120,362 | 33.0 | 47,503 | 13.0 | 47,503 | 13.0 |

(Diallo et al., 2013).

Table 3: Child Labor: Regional Breakdown

| Year | Child population ('000) | | Child labour ('000) | | Activity rate (%) | | % point difference of activity rate |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|---------|-------------------|------|-------------------------------------|
| | 2008 | 2012 | 2008 | 2012 | 2008 | 2012 | |
| World | 1,586,288 | 1,585,566 | 215,269 | 167,956 | 13.6 | 10.6 | -3.0 |
| Asia and the Pacific | 853,895 | 835,334 | 113,607 | 77,723 | 13.3 | 9.3 | -4.0 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 141,043 | 142,693 | 14,125 | 12,505 | 10.0 | 8.8 | -1.2 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 257,108 | 275,397 | 65,064 | 59,031 | 25.3 | 21.4 | -3.9 |
| Other regions of which MENA 2012 | 334,242 | 332,143 | 22,473 | 18,697 | 6.7 | 5.6 | -1.1 |
| | - | 110,411 | - | 9,244 | - | 8.4 | - |

(Diallo et al., 2013).

Table 4: Worst Forms of Child Labor (WFCL): Regional Breakdown

| Region | Total children ('000) | Hazardous work ('000) | Incidence rate (%) |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|
| World | 1,585,566 | 85,344 | 5.4 |
| Asia and the Pacific | 835,334 | 33,860 | 4.1 |
| Latin America and the Caribbean | 142,693 | 9,638 | 6.8 |
| Sub-Saharan Africa | 275,397 | 28,767 | 10.4 |
| Other regions of which MENA | 332,143 | 13,078 | 3.9 |
| | 110,411 | 5,224 | 4.7 |

(Diallo et al., 2013).

Child Domestic Work

Child labor is a broad and expansive term encompassing the performance of both wage-earning as well as non-wage-earning activities. The focus therefore extends beyond activities in agricultural and industrial settings to include activities that take place in domestic contexts (Derby, 2012; Tetteh, 2011). Therefore, besides the sectors mentioned above another area that is beginning to attract the attention of scholars, child labor activists, policy makers, and other stakeholders is child domestic work (Blagbrough, 2008; Tetteh, 2011). Child domestic work does not receive a lot of mention because of the very context in which it takes place – in people’s households or homes. Yet, the range of activities children partake in or perform can be very strenuous and have devastating effects on their well-being (Blagbrough, 2008; Soares, Kruger & Berthelon, 2012; Tetteh, 2011). Thus, the main difference between child domestic work and ‘mainstream’ child labor is the context in which work activities take place (Blagbrough, 2008; Klocker, 2011). Child domestic work is also referred to as child domestic servitude (Derby, 2012).

Child domestic work is sometimes the product of a cultural and traditional orientation that posits that getting children to live with people other than their own parents contributes to the children’s overall development (Dillon, Bardasi, Beegle & Serneels, 2012; Tetteh, 2011). Those with whom the child lives, and in whose households work is performed, may sometimes be distant or close relatives. In other cases, there may be no consanguineal connections at all (Dillon et al., 2012; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005). Child domestic work, just like other forms of work that make up child labor, can provide grounds for abuse and exploitation including child trafficking (Derby, 2012).

Ghana - Country Profile

Ghana is a sub-Saharan country, located in West Africa. It shares a border on the West with La Cote d'Ivoire (the Ivory Coast), on the East with Togo and with Burkina Faso in the North, and in the south is the Gulf of Guinea (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], 2014). Ghana was formerly known as the Gold Coast (as a British colony). It first served as a major trading post for the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes and British before being annexed by the British as a colonial territory in 1821. Ghana attained independence on March 6th, 1957 (Government of Ghana, n.d).

Ghana is a multi-ethnic country with over 100 spoken languages and dialects. However, English (based on British grammar and syntax) is the official language (CIA, 2014; Naami, 2010). A census conducted in 2010 indicated that Ghana's population was 24,658,823. This represents an increase of over 30 percent from the last census taken in the year 2000 (GSS, 2012). The population distribution also shows that there are more females than males in Ghana. Males constitute 12,024,845 (approximately 48%) of the population and females, 12,633,978 (approximately 52%). The 2010 census also revealed that Ghana has a youthful population. The age structure of the population shows that 75.3% of Ghanaians belong to the 0-35 year age group. This largely consists of children under 15 years (38.3%) (GSS, 2012). Ghana's urban population is 50.9%, primarily located in two regions (out of a total of 10 administrative regions): Greater Accra and Ashanti. The other regions are mainly rural (GSS, 2012).

Ghana is a secular nation, but has strong religious traditions and influence. In regards to religion, 71.2% of Ghanaians identify as Christian. This percentage is representative of various Christian denominations. The number of Ghanaians who

identify as Muslims make up 17.6% of the total population. Traditionalists (basically people with animistic and totemistic beliefs) make up 5.2% of the population. People of other beliefs are less than 1%, and those who do not identify with any belief system constitute 5.3% of the population (GSS, 2012).

Over 54% of Ghanaians aged 5 years and above, that is 21,253,417, are economically active. Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries remain the dominant forms of employment for the population. Over half of the workforce is employed in the agriculture sector. These are mainly small landholders. Less than a quarter of the population is engaged in services and sales work, while 15 percent is involved in craft and other related activities. The private sector (formal and informal) is the largest employer. The informal sector accounts for 86.1% of all employment and the formal sector accounts for 7% of employment. Agriculture accounts for about a quarter of the nation's gross domestic product (GDP). About 50% of the GDP comes from the services sector. According to 2007 estimates, 28.5% of the population live below the poverty line⁴ (CIA, 2014; GSS, 2012).

Child Labor in Ghana: Prevalence and Incidence

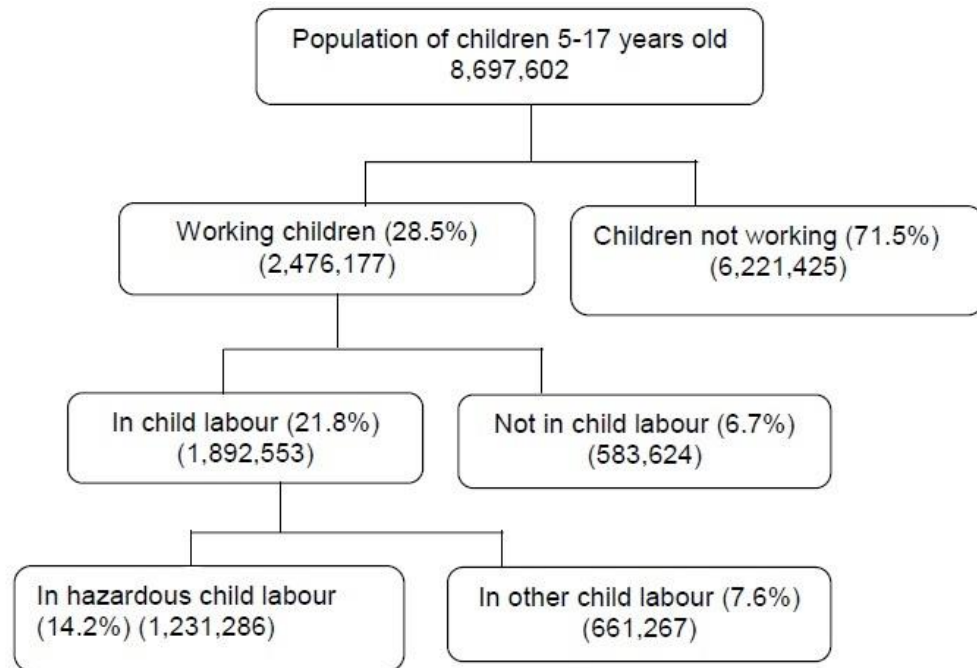
Child labor is a major social problem and public health concern in Ghana. It is also a social and political conundrum for the nation because of the potentially negative effects it can have on the nation's human rights record and global image (Asuming-Brempong, Sarpong, Amoo, & Asenso-Okyere, 2007; Tetteh, 2011). In 2000, Ghana's total population was 20.3 million. The estimated population of children aged 5-17 years was approximately 6.3 million. Twenty percent of them, more than 1.2 million children

⁴ Population below the poverty line is the percentage of the population living on less than \$1.25 a day at 2005 international prices.

were involved in various forms of child labor. Additionally, 3.8% (242,074) of children were involved in hazardous work in the agriculture sector, stone quarrying, illegal artisanal mining, and ritual servitude (Asuming-Brempong et al., 2007).

The Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS), a nationwide survey and welfare monitoring mechanism structured to provide information on living conditions in Ghana, provides the most recent statistics on the incidence of child labor in Ghana. The latest round of the survey, GLSS Round 6 (GLSS6), was conducted between October 2012 and October 2013. According to the GLSS6, there are currently 8,697,602 Ghanaian children aged 5-17 years. The GLSS6 report further notes that 28.5% (approximately 2,476,177) of Ghanaian children aged 5-17 years are engaged in economic activities, and are therefore classified as working children (see Figure 1⁵). Out of that number, 76.4% (1,892,553) are involved in child labor. Approximately, two-thirds (1,231,286) of the children involved in child labor are engaged in the worst forms of child labor (GSS, 2014). Whereas the ILO's report indicates a global decline in the incidence of child labor, Ghana's national reports indicate an increase in child labor. Furthermore, though the number of children involved in actual child labor may not have increased exponentially, the number of children engaging in the worst forms of child labor is now more than five times the number of children in the worst forms of child labor in 2000 (Asuming-Brempong et al., 2007; GSS, 2014).

⁵ The percentages shown in Figure 1 represent the percentage of children out of the national population while the percentages shown in-text represent the percentage of children out of the population of working children.

Figure 1: Ghana: Child Population and Child Labor Breakdown

(GSS, 2014)

Ghana Statistical Service reports between 2012, 2013, and 2014 suggest that the likelihood of having several Ghanaian children involved in child labor is high (GSS, 2012, 2013 & 2014). Seeing children involved in economic activities is a common occurrence in many Ghanaian towns and cities. In rural communities it is common to find children helping out on family farms and in other family enterprises. During the harvesting and planting periods the children are usually busy helping meet the labor needs of their families. This is generally considered a cost-saving method because the families will not have to hire laborers (GSS, 2014; Hilson, 2010; Krauss, 2013). Additionally, Ghanaian children often work for commercial as well as non-commercial purposes. In the cities children commonly work as porters, cart pushers, and minivan conductors. In some cases, children work as aides to blind and disabled beggars. There are some children for whom such work is necessary because it is a significant means of

livelihood and also contributes to the subsistence of their families. Children's participation in such forms of work is considered normal and customary; hence, it is widely accepted (Tetteh, 2011; United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Affairs, n.d.) (See Table 5 for a list of work activities undertaken by Ghanaian children and WFCL in Ghana). Table 5 provides a list of some of the activities commonly labelled as child labor or WFCL in Ghana. The images below are graphic depictions of some of the child labor and WFCL practices.

Table 5: Child Work Activities and WFCL

| Sector/ Industry | Activity |
|----------------------------|---|
| Agriculture | Land clearing, using machetes and harvesting hooks, working in the vicinity of pesticide spraying, and carrying heavy loads in the production of cocoa. Herding livestock. Fishing: including producing bait, nets, and fishing gear; launching, paddling, and draining canoes; casting and pulling fishing nets and untangling them underwater; sorting, picking, cleaning, and smoking fish; and cleaning and repairing nets and boats. |
| Industry | Quarrying and small-scale mining, sometimes for gold, including using mercury, digging, excavating, and working in pits. |
| Services | Domestic service. Transporting heavy loads as porters or kayayee ⁶ . Running errands and cooking for fishermen and transporting and selling fish. Street hawking, begging. |
| Worst Forms of Child Labor | Forced begging and forced labor in agriculture, artisanal gold mining, domestic service, portage, and street vending Fishing as a result of human trafficking Trokosi ⁷ , a form of ritual servitude |

(United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Affairs, n.d.)

⁶ Kayayee means female porter in Ga, one of the native Ghanaian dialects.

⁷ Trokosi is an Ewe word (one of the native Ghanaian dialects) which means “a child who is lost to her parents” (Ameh, 2001, p. 32).

Picture 1: Pictures of Child Work Activities



(Arku, 2013; Ghana News Agency [GNA], 2011, 2014; Ibis, 2014)

There are many factors that account for child work and child labor, and the occurrence of child labor in many instances may be due to a combination of several factors. Several scholars have also noted the issue of intersectionality –with the interaction of gender, social class and economic status – in child labor discourse

(Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006). To date, more emphasis has been placed on the economic factors contributing to child labor, but there is the need for caution in regards to efforts that attempt to homogenize the problem (Basu, 1999; Basu & Van, 1998; Grier, 2004). Many studies on child labor have inadequately addressed the social, political, and cultural realities of different societies and countries where child labor is common practice (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Nordtveit, 2010).

Causes of Child Labor

Poverty is generally reported to be the biggest contributor to child labor (Admassie, 2002; Basu & Van, 1998; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005). The incidence of child labor can also be blamed on socio-cultural traditions (Agyemang, 2006; Basu & Van, 1998; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006; Tetteh, 2011). There are also gendered factors underlying the incidence of child labor. For example, girls, more than boys, are likely to be taken out of school and made to assume domestic responsibilities (Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fors, 2012; Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006). Generally, such decisions are based on socio-cultural and traditional norms about the different roles of boys and girls. Nkamelu and Kielland (2006) examined farmers' decisions on child labor and schooling in the Ivory Coast and revealed that children who were in the care of migrant or immigrant farmers were more likely to work and less likely to be enrolled in school. They also noted that male children were more likely than females to have educational opportunities even if they were involved in child labor.

In some African countries such as Mali and Niger, there is what is referred to as descent-based slavery. This is a practice that perpetuates child labor in the sense that, children whose kin were slaves end up being confined to a life of labor (Anti-slavery

International, 2012). In Ghana, an example of such cultural, traditional, and religious practices is “trokosi” one of the worst forms of child labor in Ghana. “Trokosi” is a practice of ritual servitude common among some southern tribes of Ghana (Ameh, 2001; Gadri, 2010). It is a practice whereby girls, mostly virgins, are sent to shrines as restitution for wrongs committed by a member of their family or as payback for some assistance received from the shrine. Some of these girls tend to be as young as 7 years. At the shrines the girls literally become the property of the shrine heads or priests and serve in various capacities including child-bearing (Ameh, 2001; Gadri, 2010). In the mid to late 1990s, research indicated that there were over 4,714 “trokosis” in Ghana. This only represented known cases. There is the possibility that there could be many more girls involved who have yet to be identified. As of August 2000, more than half of them had been set free through the efforts of independent groups and non-governmental organizations (Ameh, 2001).

Picture 2: Trokosi



(Hawksley, 2001; Mutual Faith Ministries, n.d.).

Additional research illustrates that weaknesses in a nation’s education system may give rise to child labor (Fors, 2012; Klocker, 2011; Ray, 2000; Shelburne, 2001). Besides a lack of quality educational facilities, the standard of education may be so low that people may not consider education a viable alternative or option to early child

employment (Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Bezerra, Kassouf & Arends-Kuenning, 2009; Dar, Blunch, Kim & Sasaki, 2002; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fors, 2012; Ray, 2000; Saad-Lessler, 2010). The recommended level of completion for basic education in Ghana is junior secondary school (equivalent to junior high school in the United States). Junior secondary education was designed to provide technical and vocational skills to students to make them employable after completing the junior secondary level. However, the mode of instruction is overly theoretical with very little to no practical training at all. Generally, people who have completed junior secondary school still require apprenticeship and vocational skills training in order to be employable. Again, meaningful employment opportunities for people with the junior secondary school certificate are non-existent. In view of this, the GLSS6 recommended the restructuring of junior secondary education to boost its relevance as an educational system for Ghanaian children (GSS, 2014). The lack of immediate employment opportunities related to the education received makes education less attractive to families and children especially in rural areas where most families make a living based on agriculture that does not require formal or specialized training. For this reason, families may choose to let their children work at early ages because of the immediate economic benefits to a family such as reducing family expenditure on education (Boozer & Suri, 2001; Krauss, 2013; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2003).

Furthermore, the government's relations with teachers and other workers in the education sector impacts child labor. According to the Ghana Education Service (GES), about 10,000 teachers leave the classroom annually for a variety of reasons which include employment in other sectors of the economy, and pursuing further studies (Baah et al.,

2010). This results in a shortage of well-trained teachers in the nation's schools, especially public schools. This creates a frustrating situation for various stakeholders, particularly parents. The high level of attrition is driven by poor remuneration and poor conditions of service (Asare, 2009; Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, 2006). Such a high level of teacher attrition affects the quality of education offered to students, leaving some parents with no other option but to have their child work at a very young age. Teachers generally work under such stringent conditions, and have few opportunities for upgrade and promotion on the salary scale (Asare, 2009; Owusu-Boateng, Essel & Mensah, 2010). Ghana's teachers are among the most poorly paid workers in the country. Compared to their colleagues involved in other economic activities, and teachers in other African countries, Ghanaian teachers receive relatively low salaries. Considering the costs and standard of living in Ghana, the salaries teachers receive are woefully inadequate (GNA, 2010). All of this creates prime conditions for child labor to thrive (Ananga & Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity, 2011).

Additionally, child labor can also be a consequence of global activities and failings within the world's economic and political systems (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Bachman, 2000). Macro-level decisions and actions tend to have an impact on the incidence of child labor. For example, the institution of structural adjustment and economic recovery programs by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) sometimes include the liquidation of companies and retrenchment of workers. Some children whose parents or guardians lose their jobs as a result of the retrenchment and liquidation may have to work to support themselves and their families (Kawewe &

Dibie, 2000; Konadu-Agyemang, 2000; Punch & Tisdall, 2012). For families with reduced income, child work is often viewed as another option to earn extra money to supplement the family's income (Del Carpio & Loayza, 2012; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; GSS, 2014).

According to Bachmann (2000), there have also been indications that trade liberalization and globalization encourage the exploitative use of children in economic activities. Conversely, Shelburne (2001) believes the opening up of economies to international trade can help curb child labor. Shelburne's (2001) position is based on the assumption that the opening of global trading markets will result in an increase in returns for labor. Therefore, households will not be compelled to push children into early economic activity. Shelburne's position is an example of how economic considerations are overemphasized in the prevalence of child labor. He fails to take into account the myriad of factors that combine and impact the incidence of child labor.

Many prominent multi-national enterprises have faced widespread criticism over allegations about their use of child labor in direct and indirect ways (Bergman, 2011). Though businesses may not directly employ or engage the services of children, there are still many ways in which they may be implicated on child labor charges (Bergman, 2011). For example, it has been common practice for many powerful international businesses to outsource production to companies in parts of the world where production costs are low in order to maximize profits. It has become evident that some of these production industries employ the services of children, thus violating United Nations (UN) and ILO conventions (Bachman, 2000; Manza, 2014). Thus, child labor has also been used by many companies to reduce production costs and maximize profits through the

growing reliance on and use of cheap labor. International and local businesses are both culpable. Further, child labor does not present companies with the risk that organized labor and unions can present, making the growing use of children in production and manufacturing sectors seem appealing (Bachman, 2000).

Effects of Child Labor

The perceived and actual harms that child labor poses to the well-being of children is the main reason many people oppose it in any manner, shape, or form. Child labor is widely believed to affect children's developmental learning. Research suggests that child labor undermines regular school attendance and contributes to high dropout rates (Boozer & Suri, 2001; Clark-Bennet et al., 2004; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2003). Other studies and reports present evidence to the contrary (e.g., Cardoso & Verner, 2006, and GSS, 2014). Cardoso and Verner (2006) conducted a study on Brazilian youth and found that early pregnancy was the leading cause of school abandonment. Their results suggested that working does not necessarily translate into school abandonment. Evidence from Ghana reflects this dual position.

According to the GLSS6, approximately one million Ghanaian children were not attending school because they were engaged in unpaid family work (GSS, 2014). The report also showed that some children still attend school even though they work. The GLSS6 revealed that out of the 88.9% (7,732,168) of Ghanaian children currently enrolled in school, 20.1% (1,554,165 children) were involved in child labor, and 12.4% (approximately 958,788 children) were involved in the worst forms of child labor (GSS, 2014). More attention is now being given to the kind of work children do, the hours spent working, and how that can have a negative effect on school enrollment and attendance, as

well as educational outcomes. Studies have also revealed that working at young ages can negatively affect children's academic progress and school completion (Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Basu & Van, 1998; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; ILO, 2007; Nkamelu & Kielland, 2006; Orazem & Gunnarsson, 2003).

To complicate matters further, children involved in agriculture and mining activities may be exposed to pesticides and insecticides such as DDT, and chemicals used in mining such as cyanide and mercury (ILO, 2005). Such exposure poses serious health hazards (see Table 1). There are other risks too. For example, in Ghana, there have also been reports of children in the fishing sector drowning in rivers as they tried to disentangle fishing nets from tree stumps in the rivers (Ross, 2007).

In the artisanal mining sector in Ghana, there have been cases of people getting trapped in mining pits as a result of cave-ins and mudslides. Some of those incidents have resulted in fatalities involving children as well as adults (Frimpong, 2013; ILO, 2007b; Kankam-Boadu, 2013; Myjoyonline, 2014; O'Donnell et al., 2005). Furthermore, with the influx of immigrants, mostly from China, in the artisanal mining sector in Ghana, there have been reports of armed conflicts and clashes between these immigrants and indigenous artisanal miners (Bax, 2012; Ghanaweb, 2012). This further heightens the risks that Ghanaian children working in these mines may be exposed to. Again, those involved in illegal artisanal mining, locally referred to as “galamsey” may suffer an even worse fate. The absence of standardized regulatory mechanisms results in a lot of infractions and the abuse of children going unchecked (ILO, 2005; Kankam-Boadu, 2013; Myjoyonline, 2014).

Children involved in child labor also face the risk of sexual assault and abuse (Audu, Geidam & Jarma, 2009; Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003; Tetteh, 2011). For most young people, especially girls, involvement in child labor without adequate adult protection increases their vulnerability, and further exposes them to the activities of sexual predators (Audu et al., 2009; Gharaibeh & Hoeman, 2003; Tetteh, 2011). Again, the GLSS6 showed that out of 804,474 work-related injuries involving 5-17 year olds, 73.1% (about 588,070) of the injuries happened to children involved in child labor. The report also indicated the forms of assault and abuse children faced. According to the report 18.5% of working children within the ages of 5-17 were repeatedly shouted at, 10.5% were insulted repeatedly, 3.7% were subjected to beatings or physically assaulted, and 0.3% were sexually assaulted (GSS, 2014).

Studies have further revealed there is a growing number of teenage commercial sex workers in Ghana (Agyemang, 2006). Additionally, some children may not have originally been sex workers, but through child labor become involved in transactional sexual relations. Transactional sexual relations are usually premised on the receipt of gifts, cash awards, and favors in exchange for sex. Children who prostitute and those who engage in transactional sexual relations are particularly susceptible to sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV-AIDS and syphilis and face the risk of other serious health illnesses (Williams, Binagwaho & Betancourt, 2012).

Overall, the effects of child labor, whether negative or positive, is sometimes a matter of perception (Kielland & Tovo, 2006). There are children and families who see child labor as a means of necessary economic subsistence. It could be a family's only source of income, or a way of supplementing low incomes (GSS, 2014). There are

farmers and fishermen, and a host of others such as bus drivers, and entrepreneurs for whom child labor serves as a source of cheap labor. There are also parents, and even children, who see child labor activities as a form of apprenticeship, an opportunity to acquire informal trade and vocational skills (Kielland & Tovo, 2006; Kim et al., 2005; Lord, 2011; Nsamenang, 2008; Ross, 2007).

Penalties Faced by Countries and Institutions Involved in Child Labor

Child labor affects the global image of a country. It impacts foreign relations, and the international trade activities of countries (Bachmann, 2000). The image and reputation of companies and brands may be tarnished following revelations of complicity in child labor (Bachmann, 2000). Companies such as Hershey, Cadbury and Nestle have faced serious criticism and come under heavy public scrutiny over their use of child labor in the production and supply of cocoa for their chocolate products (Athreya & Newman, 2009; Manza, 2014). These well-known chocolate companies have also been criticized for committing very few resources towards the elimination of the worst forms of child labor, despite making enormous profits. Since 2001, the chocolate companies have made close to \$1 trillion. However, the percentage of profits committed towards efforts to address child labor is less than one percent (Manza, 2014).

Similarly, concerns have been raised about the operations of Firestone Tire and Rubber Company (simply referred to as Firestone) in Liberia (Gentile, 2005; Shabazz, 2008). Various reports suggest the exploitation of children on rubber plantations in Liberia (Institute for Human Rights and Business, 2010; Shabazz, 2008). Though Firestone recently won a case brought against it by 23 Liberian children regarding their working conditions on a rubber plantation in Liberia, such reports gave the company

bad publicity (Stempel, 2011). Countries like Ghana have received threats of embargos and consumer boycotts of goods that use child labor in the production process (Asuming-Brempong et al., 2007), but some scholars have argued against the imposition of trade sanctions (Grossmann & Michaelis, 2007; Gupta, 2002; Shelburne, 2001). Grossmann and Michaelis (2007) and Gupta (2002) note that such measures will increase poverty and aggravate the living conditions of the very children they seek to help. For example, some research has shown that trade sanctions may result in the loss of profits to businesses which may in turn result in a reduction of the number of workers employed or reduce wages. However, it will not necessarily reduce the incidence of child labor as it may not have any effect on the supply of child labor. Moreover, children in child labor may be driven to sectors that are inconspicuous or move to other sectors that do not fall within the purview of the sanctions (Grossmann & Michaelis, 2007; Gupta, 2002; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). The sanctions usually apply to commodities that are produced for export. Thus, the use of child labor in the production of non-exportable commodities attracts relatively little attention and effort (Grossmann & Michaelis, 2007; Gupta, 2002).

The imposition of sanctions and trade boycotts is viewed by some scholars and diplomats as an example of Western hegemony (Bachmann, 2000; Noguchi, 2002, 2010). There are several reasons for this assumption. For instance, the United States is one of the nations at the forefront of the campaign to address child labor (Noguchi, 2002, 2010; Shelburne, 2001), yet it has yet to ratify the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (Noguchi, 2002, 2010).

As indicated earlier, the United States has also not ratified the ILO's C138 which stipulates that the minimum age for employment should be 15 years or the completion of

compulsory basic education and also notes that 18 years should be the threshold for work or employment that could “jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons” (ILO, n.d.a).

This raises questions about the commitment of some countries in addressing child labor globally. Again, others even perceive the global campaign to address the complicity of multinational companies in the prevalence of child labor as a veiled attempt at tilting the scales of global trade in favor of Western nations and institutions (Bachman, 2000; Doepke & Zilibotti, 2009; Noguchi, 2002, 2010). Bachman (2000) cites a complaint by Youssef Boutros-Ghali, then Egyptian trade minister, regarding the perceived acts of hegemony on the part of Western nations. During an international conference on trade in Seattle in 1999, Youssef Boutros-Ghali made the following remark, “Why, all of a sudden, when third world labor has proved to be competitive, do industrial countries start feeling concerned about our workers?” (p. 38). Smolin (1999) also acknowledges these concerns, noting that they tend to be the source of tensions in the relations between developed and developing nations. The points outlined above illustrate the political complexity shrouding efforts to address child labor, as well as the many dimensions that need further exploration (Basu, 1999; Chirwa, 1993; Gupta, 2002; GSS, 2014; Kim et al., 2005).

Policy Framework

The concept of child labor is structured within the framework of a set of global and domestic policies and legislative instruments. These policies and legislation play a major role in shaping meanings and interpretations of work activities carried out by children. These, in turn, have led to the creation of universal policies that were supposed to be effective in diverse societies (Clerk, 2011).

At the global level, the ILO's child labor conventions serve as the main framework for action on child labor (Clerk, 2011). The ILO's conventions are anchored in the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC). The CRC represented an attempt at consolidating efforts aimed at protecting children expressed in previous documents such as the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924. The CRC was therefore grounded in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924 which was adopted by the UN's General Assembly thirty years earlier, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1949 (Clerk, 2011; Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights [OHCHR], n.d; UN Cyber School Bus, n.d; UN Documents: Gathering a Body of Global Agreements, n.d). In a sense, the CRC also marked an improvement on some of those documents. The 1924 and 1949 documents did not offer any definitions of who is considered a child. These documents were also not legally binding. Again, they failed to incorporate an element that fully recognized the agency of children and their right to self-determination. The first article of the CRC (Article 1) defines a child as any human being below the age of 18 years. In addition, Article 12 recognizes the agency of children and recommends that children be granted the opportunity for independent action (OHCHR, n.d; UN Cyber School Bus, n.d; UN Documents: Gathering a Body of Global Agreements, n.d).

Though accepted and referenced widely across the world, countries from the Global North (the economically and technologically advanced nations of Europe and North America) assumed a more permanent role in the development of the CRC than the countries from the Global South (general reference to the underdeveloped and developing nations of Africa, South America and Asia). For this reason, some scholars maintain that

Western views and notions constitute a core component of the CRC, and remain unfairly dominant in any discussions about child rights (Ennew, 2000; Healy, 2007; Nsamenang, 2008).

At the domestic level, many countries have ratified the ILO's conventions and work towards implementing it in their communities (Clerk, 2011). Currently, the Minimum Age Convention of 1973 (C138) has been ratified by 167 countries. The countries that have not ratified C138 are Australia, Bangladesh, Canada, India, Iran, Liberia, Marshall Islands, Mexico, Myanmar, New Zealand, Palau, Saint Lucia, Somalia, Suriname, Timor-Leste, Tuvalu, United States and Vanuatu. The Minimum Age Convention of 1999 (C182) has been ratified by 179 countries. Cuba, Eritrea, India, Marshall Islands, Tuvalu and Palau are the only countries that have not ratified C182 (ILO, n.d.b).

As part of efforts to domesticate and localize the conventions some countries have developed child labor policies (Clerk, 2011; Nordtveit, 2010). In Ghana, the government passed a Children's Act (Act 560) in 1998 with specific provisions on child labor (Clerk, 2011). There are other international and regional provisions that also seek to address the child labor problem. The African Union, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have some provisions on child labor (ECOWAS, 2013). As a member of these regional bodies, Ghana is under the purview of their child labor provisions. Again, there is the Harkin-Engel Protocol which is specifically aimed at addressing child labor in the cocoa sector in Ghana and the Ivory Coast (Payson Center for International Development, 2010). These constitute a regulatory framework for child labor in Ghana so

how they frame child labor and contribute to child labor discourse ought to be a matter of concern and scrutiny.

Notions of Children and Childhood

Fundamental to discussions on child labor is the notion and definition of who is considered a child and what childhood entails. However, that has rarely been explored in the child labor discourse. Some scholars note that the concept of childhood is nebulous, changing with different time periods (Montgomery, 2009; Nieuwenhuys, 1996). How “child” is defined, and what childhood entails is a function of social, economic, cultural, and political factors (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Montgomery, 2009; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006; Tetteh, 2011). The notion or definition of who is considered a child, and what childhood entails that is applied to child labor influences the conceptualization of the issue and all other things associated with it such as the development of solutions and drafting of policies (Chirwa, 1993).

In his seminal work *Centuries of Childhood*, Philippe Aries (1962) contended that notions of childhood in the modern era were a novelty and alien to the medieval era. He also indicated that the concept of childhood was a relatively recent development that revolutionized society with the evolution of a distinct set of customs and traditions to support the concept. Constructions of childhood, he believed, were impacted by ideological and socio-religious changes. The Church of that era emphasized a position of parents or the family as stewards, accountable to God for the spiritual as well as material well-being of their children. This resulted in an increase in sentimental relationships between parents and children in the middle ages. As part of these changes, measures and attempts were instituted to protect and prepare children before they joined adults in

mainstream society. A set of ethics corresponding to these changes also emerged. Parents had to ensure that all of their children received the training and skills requisite for life. Hitherto, it was mostly the eldest who had that privilege (Aries, 1962).

Aries received substantial criticisms for asserting that childhood was a novel construction. His points of reference and analytic insights have been questioned (Lancy, 2008; Wilson, 1980). He made deductions and inferences about children and childhood using art as his frame of reference. Based on his figurative analysis of art works, he presented the notion of the man-child and the blurring of the line between childhood and adulthood. He also indicated that apprenticeship marked children's early introduction and participation in adult society suggesting that the worlds of children and that of adults were enmeshed and there was no real separation on the basis of age as is evident in the educational structure of modern society (Montgomery, 2009; Wilson, 1980).

Despite the criticisms of Aries' pioneering work, one notable point he conveys is that there are various conceptions of childhood and these evolve over time. It is therefore quite explicit that there is no fixed notion of childhood and representations of children in society. How society has perceived children has varied with each epoch in human history. In the middle ages, children had very little social recognition. They were pushed into adult activity (work) at a very early age (Sousa & Araújo, 2011; Stearns, 2006). Views of children and childhood have been contingent on social, economic, and political transformations which in turn affect cultural realities. With economic advancement, childhood has increasingly become sacrosanct, and there is great emphasis on the protection of children (Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Stearns, 2006; Zelizer, 1985).

Service in the military was not uncommon among young people in pre-modern societies (Sousa & Araújo, 2011; Stearns, 2005). Historically, in Ancient Greece societies, parental rights to children were curtailed around the age of seven. Children were primarily considered to be state property. The state assumed responsibility for their welfare and well-being. This was, however, a means to an end. The state sought to raise children who were conditioned to become its military defenders. For this reason, boys as well as girls were generally taken through strict regimens to prepare them for the future. Children who at birth were discovered to have defects or deficiencies were not allowed to live (Sousa & Araújo, 2011).

How childhood is conceived and perceived influences the roles children are permitted to assume, the privileges they enjoy, and the related responsibilities (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Bühler-Niederberger, 2010; Jenks, 2002; Montgomery, 2009; Stearns, 2005, 2006). In many societies the consensual ideas about what distinguishes a child from an adult include being economically independent, getting married and, in some cases, parenthood (Arnett, 2001). There are also those societies where a person may be considered biologically (and physiologically) mature, but socially immature when they do not have children (Grier, 2004; Montgomery, 2009). For instance, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, childhood starts from birth and ends once an individual reaches a stage of economic independence which is determined by their ability to engage in adult labor and duties, and fend for themselves. A strict adherence to biological (chronological) age is not a determining factor. This is similar to what pertains in other African societies where economic viability and building one's own place of abode marked the transition from childhood to adulthood regardless of chronological age (Twum-Danso, 2008).

Though childhood in modern Western society is generally seen as a stage of incompetence, other societies look at it quite differently. In many non-Western cultures children may be considered incompetent not solely because of their age, but rather due to their lack of knowledge and social competence (Montgomery, 2009). Once they achieve competency in certain areas, they are considered ready to assume certain roles which may include caring for their younger siblings or relatives, and taking herds of animals to forage. Some of these tasks are gender-specific. Boys usually herd animals while girls may be assigned the task of caring for younger siblings, and performing household chores such as preparing meals, fetching water, and gathering wood for fuel (Montgomery, 2009; Nsamenang, 2008).

In Ghanaian society, young children are mostly viewed or considered to be vulnerable. In the period following birth until the preteen years, they may be allowed much time for play and indulgence in frivolities (Nukunya, 1999; Twum-Danso, 2009). However, the trajectories of their development are different from that of Western societies. Whereas in Western society the chronological trajectory (focusing on the attainment of a particular age) carries much weight, in societies such as Ghana there is a dual, but uneven focus on chronology and social competence (Nukunya, 1999). An Ashanti (a Ghanaian tribe) proverb conveys this thought as well, noting that, “a child who learns to wash his hands eats with his elders” (Awake, 2003, p. 20). In essence, a child’s display of social competence results in an elevation of their status, and grants them entry into avenues that may be reserved for adults. This forms part of the cultural and social realities alluded to earlier in this paper. What the current statutes and legislation say

regarding who is considered a child may vary from the views actually held within the larger society (Clerk, 2011; Lord, 2011; Nordtveit, 2010).

Tetteh (2011), in her work on child domestic labor in Ghana, makes it clear that determining who is considered a “child” can be a contentious subject because “child” is a concept that can be variously defined to serve different purposes. Kuyini and Mahama (2009), in a study on the implementation of the Ghana Children’s Act, 1998 (Act 560) in four districts in Northern Ghana, revealed that “in the context of Ghana’s socio-cultural, political, and economic environment the implementation of the legislation may remain a demanding proposition” (p. 1). Kuyini and Mahama (2009) further noted that what the law required appeared to be in direct conflict with the socio-cultural and traditional values of the people in the districts studied. Thus, communities perceived that the law was “proposing a new orientation to child-rearing” (p. 19). Lord (2011) conducted a historical review of Ghanaian childhoods covering the latter part of the colonial period. His review supports the notion of a distinct Ghanaian view of children. Children engaging in various forms of labor activity and apprenticeship at an early age appears to have been encouraged. Below are some excerpts from Lord’s (2011) text:

During the school holidays, for example, Adjeley Nyonmoaley excerpted more profit from her bar by sending her ten-year-old son to sell food in the streets... Kwabena Mensah was apprenticed as a carpenter aged eight, but his father fetched him back after finding out that the boy was being used as a farm hand. (p. 103-108)

These practices were not out of place, and they were also not considered illegal. There was judicial backing and support. For instance, a thirteen year old girl, Afua Addotey, was spared a disciplinary sentence by the juvenile court because being the only

person assisting her mother, her removal from home would have severely inconvenienced her mother (Lord, 2011).

After almost six decades, there have been significant changes in Ghana's judicial and legislative frameworks, but it appears the larger society is yet to catch up with these changes. For example, concerning child labor, the Ghana Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) indicates that 13 years is the minimum age for light work. There have been suggestions by the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for Ghana and the National Plan of Action for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor for the age to be changed to 12 years. These suggestions are based on a report by Hinson-Ekong (2006) which stated that, "most Ghanaians traditionally consider a child as someone who is under 12 years and, therefore, start child socialization at 12 years" (as cited in GSS, 2014, p. 20). The Early Child Development Policy of Ghana also notes that based on the time of completion for elementary school, which on average is 11 years, the minimum age for light work could be set at 11 years (GSS, 2014). This may partly explain the reason behind the assigning of household tasks and family responsibilities to children at very young ages.

Additionally, the conduct of presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana offers another example for understanding notions of children in Ghanaian communities. The legal age for eligibility to vote is 18 years. However, during the 2012 presidential and parliamentary elections in Ghana, it was reported that there were about 20,000 underage voters in the Electoral Commission of Ghana's voters' register (Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012) (see Picture 3). The registration of minors is usually perceived as acts of electoral fraud committed by the various political parties (GNA, 2012). However,

anecdotally, some parents of underage voters have been known to say that if their children are old enough to farm then they are old enough to vote.

Picture 3: Under Age Voters

| ELECTORAL COMMISSION OF GHANA | | | |
|---|--|---|--|
| LIST OF VOTERS WITH AGE = 18 YRS | | | |
| REGION: H - NORTHERN | | DISTRICT: H19 - TAMALE | |
| PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200312 AGE: 18 SEX: M DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 18 ABOABO NAME: MUSTAPHA ABU HANIFA |  | PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200320 AGE: 18 SEX: M DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 31 ABOABO NAME: ABDUL MUMIN HADI |  |
| PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200338 AGE: 18 SEX: M DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 18 ABOABO NAME: MUSTAPHA ABDUL RAHMAN |  | PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200346 AGE: 18 SEX: M DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 18 ABOABO NAME: MUSTAPHA ABU SAFIAN |  |
| PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200353 AGE: 18 SEX: M DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 24 ABOABO NAME: HADI TAWFIQ |  | PS CODE: H193404 VOTER ID: 1031200361 AGE: 18 SEX: F DATE: 26-Apr-2012 RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS HSE NO 1 EXT 30 ABOABO NAME: IBRAHIM HUMU |  |

(Owusu Nkansah, 2012)

In view of some of these constructions of childhood, the point can be made that the position of the CRC on children and childhood is not truly representative (Clerk, 2011; Ennew, 2000; Twum-Danso, 2008). In essence, if the CRC is not very representative in its provisions on who is a child and childhood, then other documents based on the CRC may also not be truly representative. The constructions of children and childhood above reveal that the concept of childhood is amorphous. There seem to be no real absolutes regarding the nature of childhood. However, as Abebe and Bessell (2011) point out, an “idealised vision of childhood has been gradually extended from a relatively small group determined by geography, gender and class to an experience that should be shared by all children” (p. 766-767). Abebe and Bessell (2011) denote this as the work-free childhood perspective which posits that childhood should be a time for schooling and

play, free of responsibilities and devoid of fear and worry. Abebe and Bessell (2011) and Pierik and Houwerzijl (2006) state that this is a glamorized and sentimentalized view of children that is not wholly valid even in the Western societies where it originated.

Some other arguments challenging the relevance and application of the CRC are centered on changes in the social and cultural aspects of society as well as scientific and technological advancement (Veerman, 2010). Veerman (2010) even suggests a review of the definition of child contained in conventions on child labor on the basis of neurological studies that indicate the growth of the brain, and therefore rational thought, continues until the age of 24 years.

Furthermore, the accepted standards and notions of childhood tend to be a subject of politics, economics and power plays (Clerk, 2011; Grier, 2004; Laird, 2012; Nordtveit, 2010; Stearns, 2005). Laird (2012), Takyi-Amoako (2011) and Twum-Danso (2008) suggest that there is an inequitable distribution of power in global political, social and economic interactions, and these come into play in several situations including those pertaining to social development and policy making. Takyi-Amoako (2010) examined the relationship between Ghana's Ministry of Education and some donor partners in the development of Ghana's Education Strategic Plan (ESP), and found that the relationship was characterized by power imbalances. The donors had more of an authoritative role in the interactions. Likewise, Laird (2012) drew the same conclusion in her review of the development of the ESP, and other social and development policies namely, the Early Childhood Care and Development Policy, and the National Youth Policy of Ghana. According to Laird (2012) the process was lopsided with the global agencies and donor countries dictating the direction of the policy.

Organizations such as the UN, the ILO, the IMF, and the World Bank have hierarchical structures, and their decision-making and policy building processes are often not democratic (Annisette, 2004; Rapkin & Strand, 2006). In the World Bank, a country's economic status determines its voting strength and decision-making power. Despite shifts in the voting rights over the years the patterns of dominance remain the same. Thus the World Bank is dominated by high income countries who hold about 60% of its voting rights. The low income countries, usually the borrowing countries, hold a minority position and have less influence in decision and policy making (Annisette, 2004; Dreher & Sturm, 2012). Also, Dreher and Sturm (2012) revealed that financial considerations play a role in the voting patterns of countries in the UN's General Assembly. Dreher and Sturm (2012) state that, "countries receiving adjustment projects and larger non-concessional loans from the World Bank vote more frequently in line with the average G7 country" (p. 387). Considering that these are, basically, the same countries that make up the ILO it is highly conceivable that the same dynamic is at play in the ILO.

Western/Non-Western Dichotomy

Child labor studies and research are not always presented in explicit Western and non-Western categories. There is some consensus as well as variation in the findings and views of scholars from both sides of this geopolitical divide. Scholars from both sides have written about the dangers child labor poses to children as well as the benefits (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Agyemang, 2006; Basu & Van, 1998; Kielland & Tovo, 2006; Tetteh, 2011). Yet, others suggest there are distinct differences in, and motivations for child labor in Western and non-Western countries. For example, Kim et al. (2005) note that the use of child labor on American farms may be motivated by the desire of parents

to enhance the development of their children. Thus, they state that the theoretical frameworks utilized in the study of child labor in developing countries may not be applicable to the study of child labor in developed countries such as the U.S. Therefore, they propose the development of theoretical frameworks suitable and appropriate to the U.S. Nsamenang (2008) also notes that Africa's cognitive socialization and early child development frameworks, evident in children's participation in various tasks and work activities such as sibling care, are mostly condemned by international advocates, donors, and experts as being abusive of children. He adds that there is a disregard for the developmental theories and educational practices from Africa, noting that not much has been done to understand and enhance these child development frameworks.

In childhood sociology, a field encompassing child labor, Buhler-Niederberger (2010) notes that there are no texts written in languages other than English that are considered part of the most influential books in the field. Bühler-Niederberger (2010) regards this as a situation which has inadvertently resulted in a case where the "folk theories" and assumptions of childhood of some countries receive legitimation and gain entry into other countries while those from other countries are marginalized (p. 377). This alludes to the possibility of bias and unequal representation in child labor discourse.

Gaps in the Literature

Historical records reveal that children's involvement in various forms of work and wage-earning activities was normative and considered a normal part of their development (Barusch, 2012). This is true about Ghana as well (Lord, 2011). However, for about the last five decades, child work and its perceived as well as actual consequences have attracted the attention of many people across the world. It is generally assumed that

children are forced to engage in activities that pose serious risks to their physical, psychological and moral development (Arat, 2002; Noguchi, 2002). The issue has dominated discussions at global political, economic, and social conferences (Basu, 1999; Burnette, 2012; Clark & Gow, 2011; Saad-lessler, 2010). In regards to this, there have been global responses aimed at preserving the sanctity of childhood and ensuring the positive development of children (Bachman, 2000). It is in this vein that the concept of child labor emerged denoting child employment activities considered detrimental to the general well-being of children (Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Ensor, 2012; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Noguchi, 2010).

Though recent conceptions of this phenomenon portray it negatively, that has not always been the case (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Khan, 2010; Lord, 2011). This change in how child work activities are viewed reflects changes in conceptions and beliefs about the developmental stage referred to as childhood (Barusch, 2012; Khan, 2010). Implicit in child labor discourse are particular notions of who is a child and what childhood entails. Such notions are social constructions greatly influenced by cultural, political, and economic considerations. Yet this aspect of child labor has not received adequate scholarly attention (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Nsamenang, 2008; Nordtveit, 2010). Nieuwenhuys (1996) and Nordtveit (2010) note that even some of the expert views and postulations on child labor are rather facile, and therefore, recommend further exploration of the homogenization of childhood to engender a better understanding of child labor and its complexities.

Furthermore, Clerk (2011), Kuyini and Mahama (2009), and Lord (2011) suggest there are distinct views of children and childhood in Ghanaian society, and these views

stand in contrast to the current framing of child protection policies and child labor discourse. Therefore, some of the questions that arise are: what are the notions and conceptions of children and childhood in Ghanaian society? How are these similar or different from the notions and conceptions of children and childhood contained in various policy documents relating to child labor in Ghana? Who shapes or determines these notions and conceptions of children and childhood?

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The literature suggests that child labor is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon. Yet, many dimensions of the issue have been insufficiently explored. Though some scholars (e.g., Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2008, and Shelburne, 2001) have approached the issue from an economic standpoint, others (e.g. Chirwa, 1993, Nieuwenhuys, 1996, and Nsamenang, 2008) have suggested the need for anthropological and sociologically-oriented approaches examining the influence of particular social constructions of child labor. Other scholars (e.g., Laird, 2012, Takyi-Amoako, 2011, and Twum-Danso, 2008) also note that a complex array of political factors and power relations impact child welfare policies and child labor discourse. Overall, all these point to the complexity of social phenomena.

Theoretical constructs and perspectives are explanatory tools designed to break down phenomena into more conceivable and discernible parts. They provide cogent reasons that facilitate one's understanding of reality. Further, they guide the development of hypotheses and propositions as researchers examine phenomena (Thyer, Dulmus & Sowers, 2012; Turner, 2011). This study combines ecological systems theory and postcolonial theory to explore the interaction of diverse factors and their relation to the child labor phenomenon.

Ecological Systems Theory

Ecological systems theory focuses on the role of environmental factors and their impact on individuals' behavior and development. Thus, the theory engenders an

understanding of factors that influence behavior (Barry & Honore, 2009; Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Neal & Neal, 2013). Bronfenbrenner, the main proponent of ecological systems theory, posits that human life and development takes place in a series of interlinked environments also referred to as systems (i.e., social systems) (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1993). These environments are designated as microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979, 1993).

Ecological systems theory notes that there are different levels of engagement and interaction given the different social systems. These systems demonstrate how both proximal and distal relationships impact the development of the individual (Barry & Honore, 2009; Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Neal & Neal, 2013). The microsystem refers to the environment where more personal and direct interactions take place. The primary entities with which the individual interacts include the family, and others with whom the individual has proximal relationships such as neighbors, teachers, and classmates (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979).

The mesosystem represents the connection and the interrelationship that develops among various microsystems. The exosystem refers to an arena in which the individual is not directly involved yet is impacted by events that happen there. For instance, a person may not have direct involvement in government, but government policies may impact education and certainly affect the individual's life course (Arnold, Lu & Armstrong, 2012a, 2012b; Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1988; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The macro system encompasses the totality of the individual's social environment. It includes the wide array of beliefs, ideologies, and

traditions that shape the individual's life. It also includes political as well as economic systems (Armstrong et al., 2012b; Bronfenbrenner, 1977; 1988; Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The chronosystem reflects transitions and changes within the different systems over time (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). It is important to acknowledge how the various systems collectively or individually impact situations. The primary use of economic-based theories and approaches (e.g., Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2008; and Shelburne, 2001) in studying child labor fails to adequately account for other elements such as political factors and dynamics. The use of ecological systems theory engenders a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon (Arnold et al., 2012a, 2012b).

Therefore, this project utilizes ecological systems theory to highlight the distal factors, namely, the political processes in the form of the conventions and legislation that impact the child labor phenomenon. Child labor is perpetuated not only by economic and social inequalities, but also by political inequalities and disparities in power (Gramsci & Boothman, 1995; Greenfield & Cocking, 1994; Hanappi & Hanappi-Egger, 2013; Nordtveit, 2010; Whimster, 2003). However, there is a dearth of literature exploring this dimension of the child labor issue thus necessitating further research.

Several scholars (e.g., Clerk, 2011, Nordtveit, 2010, and Nsamenang, 2008) indicate that the problematizing of children's labor activities is part of a political process that grants the social constructions of Western climes a preeminent position in global discourses. Additionally, the balance of power is usually skewed in favor of global institutions such as the ILO when they engage with their member countries especially those from the Global South (Amin, 2014). This makes an interrogation of such processes

necessary. The discussion of social constructions and global political relations demonstrates the complex interaction between culture and politics. It also corresponds to the interaction between the exosystem and the macrosystem. Though children and families may be far removed from those engagements, in the end they are not spared the consequences of whatever conditions their countries are subjected to. When country governments indiscriminately accept policies and programs from global institutions as a way of enhancing their image abroad, and positioning themselves favorably for global aid, the results include the confounding of discourses and establishment of discontinuities between national policies and local realities (Nordtveit, 2010; Takyi-Amoako, 2010; Twum-Danso, 2008). What this reveals is that governments and bureaucrats can take actions devoid of general participation from their citizens and constituents. In essence, government actions may not be representative of citizens' views and concerns (Whimster, 2003). Instead, those actions may be influenced by external pressures (Nordtveit, 2010; Takyi-Amoako, 2010; Twum-Danso, 2008).

In applying the ecological systems framework, and in the context of child labor, what this means is that the ways in which the activities of children may be viewed in their immediate settings may be contrary to the views expressed in national laws and policies. Consequently, practices such as childminding, farm work, and vending that children and their families may be inclined to view as commonplace (in the microsystem) devoid of any legal and criminal implications may be perceived differently because of occurrences within the macro system and changing trends over time (Karger & Stoesz, 2014; Nieuwenhuys, 1996). This study examines constructions of children and childhood, and the relations of power in discourses on child labor.

Postcolonial Theory

Colonization resulted in the expansion of European cultural, political, and economic systems throughout much of the non-Western world. Colonization was rooted in the ideology of the superiority of Western cultures, and the self-ascribed position of the West as the steward of civilization and thus responsible for promoting the refinement and enlightenment of non-Western people. The attempts to civilize non-Western people involved the subjugation and exploitation of many indigenous people (Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin, 2007; Tamburro, 2013).

Colonial ideologies spawned developmental theories that prescribed a unilinear evolutionary model of development. This model posits that human societies develop and grow in like manner, along the same paths of social, cultural, economic, and political evolution (Arat, 2002; Conrad, 2012; Latham, 2000; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). Further, the regions (and countries) of the world were broadly categorized into modern and traditional societies. The modern societies constituted by Western states or countries in the Global North are used as the benchmarks for development and progress (Amin, 2014; Latham, 2000). By implication, non-Western states or countries in the Global South who make up the traditional societies have to become like Western states by following their patterns and trajectories of development (Amin, 2014; Karger & Stoesz, 2014; Latham, 2000). This perspective of development, and the shoehorning of countries into such categories is manifested in theories of modernization and development, and further expressed in multilateral and bilateral policies with Western countries (Amin, 2014; Laird, 2012; Latham, 2000).

The term postcolonial, which was first used in reference to the post-independence era, came to characterize the examination of the nature and structure of the colonial relationships and ties between colonialists and the colonized (Ashcroft et al., 2007). Therefore, postcolonial studies often employ a retrospective framework in studying those relationships, and examining their residual effects and current manifestations (Amin & Mage, 2005; Ferraro, 2008; Tamburro, 2013).

Postcolonial theory developed and came into prominence in the literary field through the works of scholars such as Edward Said (Ashcroft et al., 2007; Tamburro, 2013). The use of the term in literary circles principally focused on portrayals, presentations, and representations of the indigenous and non-Western people in ways that served the economic, political, and cultural interests of the colonizers (Ahluwalia, 2002, 2010; Daza & Tuck, 2014). In their engagement with colonialists, the colonized people and groups often lacked the opportunities for accurate self-representation. The master-servant nature of the relationships that transpired also meant that in many cases the colonized people did not have control over how they were presented. They did not have the power over the presentation of their realities. Thus, knowledge of these people was perceived through the filters of the colonizing nations (Ahluwalia, 2002; Maggio, 2007; Said, 1977; Spivak, 1994). The use of the term has expanded beyond literary circles and this is reflected in the following assertion by Ashcroft et al., (2003):

‘Post-colonialism/ postcolonialism’ is now used in wide and diverse ways to include the study and analysis of European territorial conquests, the various institutions of European colonialisms, the discursive operations of empire, the subtleties of subject construction in colonial discourse and the resistance of those subjects, and, most importantly perhaps, the differing responses to such incursions and their contemporary colonial legacies in both pre-and post-independence nations and communities. While its use has tended to focus on the cultural production of such communities, it is

becoming widely used in historical, political, sociological and economic analyses, as these disciplines continue to engage with the impact of European imperialism upon world societies. (p. 169)

This assertion alludes to the pervasive impact of colonial legacies on the structural frameworks and social structure of societies today. In global relations, there are still patterns that bear semblance to the biased and prejudicial relations of the colonial era (Ahluwalia, 2010; Daza & Tuck, 2014). Postcolonial theory concerns itself with how those patterns and trends have emerged in the postcolonial era, and provides a framework for conceptualizing and understanding these trends (Ashcroft et al., 2007; Said, 1977; Spivak, 1994; Tamburro, 2013). This framework is helpful in mapping out the historical and global trends of inequality and dominance in how countries relate to each other (Amin & Mage, 2005; Ferraro, 2008; Nederveen Pieterse, 2010). Some of the concepts utilized by postcolonial scholars include othering and binarism. These establish false impressions and dichotomies about social realities and also create distinctions between the colonizers and the colonized. Another popular concept is hegemony, which establishes the perspectives and worldviews of the West as absolutes while non-Western worldviews are stifled (Ashcroft et al., 2007). The problem with binarism, Ashcroft et al., (2007) note, is that it “suppress[es] ambiguous or interstitial spaces between the opposed categories, so that any overlapping region that may appear, say, between the categories man/woman, child/adult or friend/alien, becomes impossible according to binary logic, and a region of taboo in social experience” (p. 18). The use of binary categories can result in the oversimplification of reality.

Some of these trends persist in child labor discourse as well (Grier, 2004).

Nordtveit (2010) identifies the application of binarism to child welfare issues in Africa by multilateral institutions such as the ILO. He notes:

The international and national-legal discourses are classifying children and childhood according to several levels of dualism: dualism of age (defining a quantitative limit for when a child becomes adult); dualism of activity (school attendance or child labor); dualism of employment (acceptable work or worst forms of child labor); and dualism of the response structure (depending on whether an abusive situation, based on international norms, can be detected). These discourses are then defining in absolute terms, what is right and what is wrong: right age for schooling; wrong age for work. (Nordtveit, 2010, p. 700)

Further, in child labor discourse, what is known about the issue such as its prevalence, the sites and locations of high incidences of child labor, the effects and other factors are often filtered through institutions and agencies such as the ILO (Grier, 2004; Nsamenang, 2008). In that sense, there are people and groups whose voices are shut out, and their perspectives are disregarded as well. This results in the construction of imbalanced views and notions of child labor. Of particular concern is how different societies and people define who is a child and what childhood entails? How are these views and notions presented in policy texts such as the ILO's conventions? In the absence of an approach that reflects and takes into consideration the diversity of views and perspectives, constructions of child labor become products of marginalization, reifying biased assumptions and presuppositions. Therefore, the discourses on child labor become tools of disenfranchisement as the notions and cultural constructs of some societies are privileged over others.

Conclusion

The theories presented above were instrumental in the discussion of the study's findings. Additionally, to provide further theoretical ballast and anchor some of the points in my discussion, particularly the relevance of local or domestic forms of knowledge, the concept of *metis a la Scott* (1998) was also applied. The concept, *metis*, has its origins in classical Greek. *Metis* suggests that local conventions and customary practices are essential repositories of knowledge, and to dismiss such knowledge in favor of formalized and empirical knowledge alone undermines efforts of gaining a deeper understanding of phenomena (Scott, 1998). Therefore, overall, the study has an eclectic theoretical approach.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

This study is a qualitative exploratory study using a CDA approach. The study examined the textual discourse of 16 child labor-related policy documents (see Appendix A). The study focused on their notions and conceptions of who is considered a child as well as the nature of childhood. The study also examined the relations and dynamics of power in the child labor discourse. A few studies have sought to examine trends of power and hegemony in the ILO's legislative instruments on child labor (Clerk, 2011; Estacio & Marks, 2005). While this has attracted the attention of some scholars, there has been minimal research to explore more deeply how this discourse was framed and why it was framed that way (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Nordtveit, 2010; Twum-Danso, 2008). Indeed, "discourse does not simply occur or appear in a vacuum; it constructs and is constructed by individuals occupying different positions in the social structure at specific points in history" (Carter, 2011, p. 65).

The Qualitative Paradigm

Qualitative research is the preferred tool of inquiry in exploring topics that have not been adequately examined, and about which not much is known (Padgett, 2008). Within the qualitative framework research approaches may assume a constructivist and critical theory epistemology, and have an ontological disposition of historical realism and relativism (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, 2000). As such, the aim of qualitative research includes understanding the contextual factors and situations that impact the actions of people and institutions alike. Qualitative research also seeks to

understand the process of meaning-making and constructions of social life and the roles and positions of various participants or organizational entities in these processes (Fairclough, 1995; Saichaie, 2011).

A paradigm is a lens or worldview that defines one's views of the "nature of the world...the individual's place in it, [and] the variety of relationships to the world and its parts" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 200). The epistemological orientation of a researcher involves the way a researcher chooses a method to find out whatever he or she wants to know (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Constructivism and critical theory best describe the lens used to conduct this study (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Constructivism posits that meaning is contextual and variable. It notes that the process of developing knowledge is value-laden (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Padgett, 2008). Constructivists try to understand the world from the "point of view" of those who experience it (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 221). People in different places and times "develop meaning out of events through prolonged and complex processes of social interaction involving history, language, and action" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 222). For example, "what people take to be objective knowledge and truth vary with whose perspective they are taking. Conflicting constructions of truth are possible" (Khaja, 2004, p. 54-55).

Critical theory also notes that the process of knowledge generation may be impacted by a variety of reified social, political, economic, and cultural factors. Critical theory adopts a broader historical perspective, and focuses on challenging seemingly neutral constructions of knowledge (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Padgett, 2008). Qualitative research methods are traditionally known for using participant observation, open-ended interviews, focus groups, case studies, and ethnography to collect data. The qualitative

research method used for this study, CDA, has been described as a good fit for the constructivist and critical theory paradigm (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA is a research approach within the field of discourse studies that is committed to the critical investigation of social phenomena through an examination of discourses. In CDA, discourse is defined as linguistic and textual units as well as narratives and conversations. Objects of discourse in CDA go beyond text and speech, and can even cover visual images and buildings (Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). CDA's interest lies in highlighting the essential role discursive practices play in everyday life, and how such practices contribute to the power dynamics in society in the relations between different genders, cultural and ethnic groups, etc. Essentially, it demonstrates how social life is influenced and structured by discourse (O'Halloran, 2003; Van Dijk, 2008).

CDA notes that texts are sometimes encoded with far more meaning beyond their grammatical representations. Texts may be representative of disguised attempts at control and dominance (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Van Dijk, 2008; Van Leeuwen, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Wodak (2001) therefore states that CDA is “fundamentally concerned with analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (p.2). Any document can be persuasive as it may present a “certain viewpoint as fact,” but on closer examination that viewpoint is something that may be “ideologically contested” (Hill, 2009, p.32).

Definition of Hegemony and Power. The concept of hegemony, developed by Antonio Gramsci, is a good descriptor of the attempts at control and dominance with

which CDA is concerned. Hegemony refers to how the power of dominant groups gets reified and legitimized in the form of laws, social norms, conventions, commonplace habits, etc. (Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Gramsci & Boothman, 1995). CDA scholars such as Fairclough see hegemony as a means by which particular ways of thought and action become widely accepted mainstream standards (Fairclough, 1989, 1995).

Implicit in hegemony, is the notion of power in discourse. Power can be defined as the ability to control and influence the actions of others by shaping discourse. Power can also be conceptualized in terms of the resources and the means that make it possible for such control to be exercised (Van Dijk, 2008). Power and hegemony are intricately connected and remain a primary focus in the CDA field. This is because of the role language and discourse play in the determination and enforcement of power. Saichaie (2011) asserts that “language, whether textual (i.e., written) or visual (i.e., images), is perpetually and purposefully at work. [And] part of the work language does is to represent particular attitudes, entities, individuals, ideals, and institutions. [And] representation depends on how language is deployed and operationalized, and by whom” (p.1). Furthermore, language is a social construction, created through a process that is not free of bias and impartiality. The construction of language and meaning-making is mediated by one’s sociocultural experiences and the dynamics of power in relationships (Fairclough 1992, 2001; Saichaie, 2011).

CDA Types and Principles. There are several CDA methodological traditions or branches (Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). These include: Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), Corpus Linguistics Approach, Social Actors Approach, Dispositive Analysis, Socio-cognitive Approach, and the Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA) (see

Figure 2). There is also the three dimensional socio-semiotic approach which, in addition to DRA, was developed by Norman Fairclough (see Figure 3) (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a, 2001; Hart, 2010). Each CDA approach is essentially anchored in different, but interconnected theoretical frameworks. Critical theory, Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Michel Foucault all had significant influence in shaping CDA (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b; Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, 2009) (see Figure 2).

Interestingly enough, a common characteristic of the various CDA approaches is that they are all problem-oriented, and primarily focus on a review of representations of power and ideology through written, spoken, or visual data (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2001; Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Fairclough and Wodak (1997) outline the following as the main principles of CDA:

- CDA deals with social problems.
- Discourse has an ideological component.
- Discourse analysis serves to explain.
- Discourse is historical.
- Discourse constitutes a form of social action.
- There is a mediated link between text and society.
- Society and culture are composed by discourse.
- Power relations are constituted by discourse.

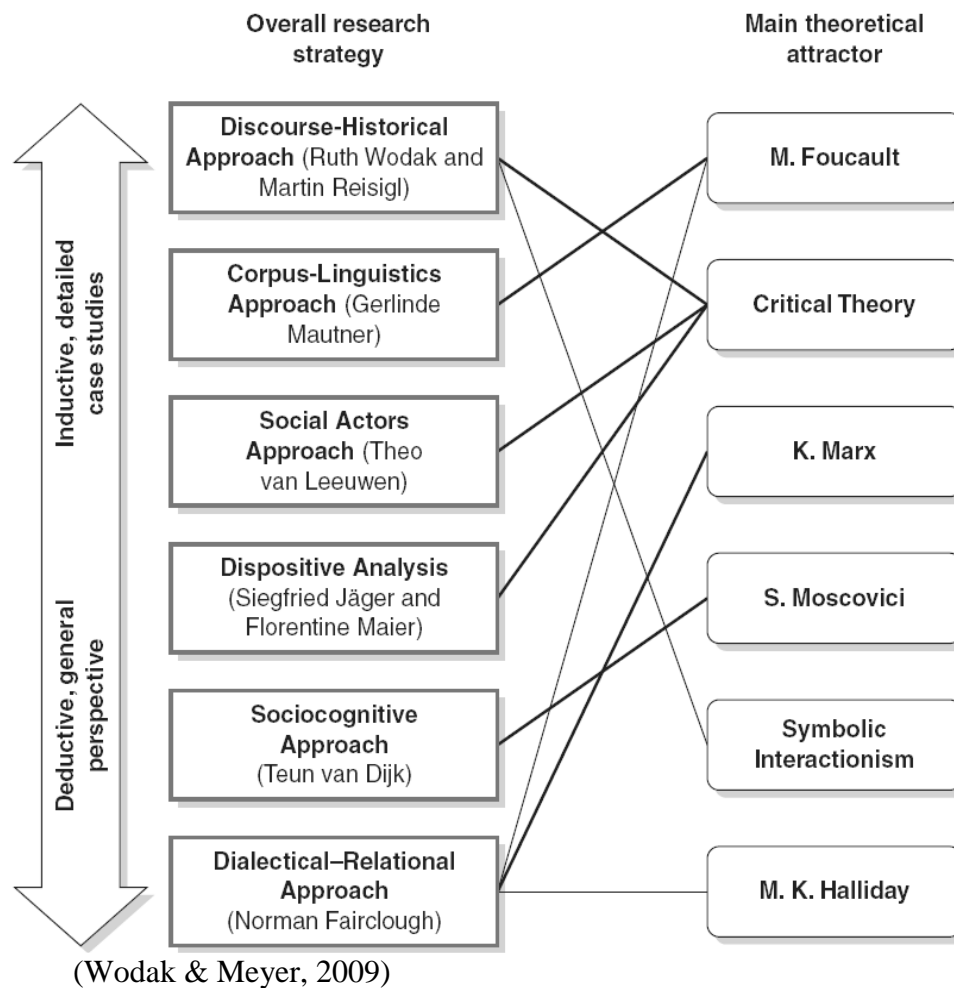
CDA is not informed by a single theoretical perspective (Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). It is eclectic in its approach, drawing widely and extensively

from different disciplines such as communication, history, political science, etc. As such, studies in CDA may employ different strategies and also utilize different data

(Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Hart, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

CDA researchers thus attempt to make explicit the particular traditions they adopt in their studies and the fields they draw upon (Hill, 2009).

Figure 2: CDA Types and Approaches



Critiques of CDA. Some criticisms have been leveled against CDA. Since its recent emergence over two decades ago, CDA has been embraced by many scholars, but it has also been criticized by others given it is an emerging field (Breeze, 2011; Poole,

2010). CDA promotes interdisciplinary fluidity by drawing on various theories. While this is perceived to be a strength of CDA, others argue that the lack of a uniform theoretical model creates conflicting perspectives and views (Breeze, 2011). However, CDA's critical orientation is indicative of some unitariness. CDA researchers, regardless of the particular approach, have a common objective of addressing issues of power, domination, and privilege in language and discourse. The diversity or plurality of theories can be seen as a reflection of the complexity of social phenomena. Thus, CDA's eclectic and multi-theoretical base provides a valuable tool for apprehending social reality and phenomena (Breeze, 2011).

CDA has been noted by scholars such as Widdowson (2004) to be obfuscating. This is partly because CDA writers and researchers sometimes fail to explicitly define the concepts they use in their work. Another criticism leveled against CDA is that its political orientation and the focus on power and domination may create some sort of a tunnel vision by CDA researchers (Haig, 2004; Widdowson, 2004). It is noted that CDA researchers may be more inclined to make interpretations or attributions to power relations while neglecting other important factors. Critics also note that even though CDA researchers are generally open about their positionality that does not mean they will still maintain a strict standard of objectivity. CDA researchers have also faced criticisms of making superficial interpretations and conclusions by cherry-picking portions of texts. This is tied to another criticism of the CDA approach – the reliance on the analyst's interpretations of the texts under study. The inherent danger in this case, is the risk of manipulation and skewed presentations of reality by CDA researchers and analysts

(Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000; Breeze, 2011; Cameron, 2001; Haig, 2004; Widdowson, 2004).

In my view, these criticisms do not invalidate CDA. The criticisms are mostly indicative of methodological flaws in the conduct of CDA. Such issues can be addressed with the rigorous application of the methodological framework a CDA researcher employs in his or her research, and adherence to the standards for establishing credibility and trustworthiness in qualitative research.

Despite the critiques, I elected to use CDA for this study because it allows for an examination and review of various discourses, including policy documents, and addresses issues of power, dominance, privilege, and inequality (Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I also elected to use CDA because it gives prominent attention to historical and socio-political elements, and illuminates their impact on a phenomenon (Carter, 2011; Tenorio, 2011; Van Dijk, 2008). Further, CDA demonstrates the centrality of language and discourse in all spheres of life. It allows for the origins of discourses to be investigated and interrogated (Tenorio, 2011). This helps uncover manipulative practices in the production of discourses, and provides a basis for addressing inequalities. Also, the inherent critical perspective of CDA extends its scope beyond linguistics. This makes it appealing and suitable for research in various disciplines such as anthropology, social work, political science, education, etc. (Tenorio, 2011).

Concerning the strengths of CDA, Carter (2011) provides a good summary, stating that:

Although a single, comprehensive method of critical discourse analysis does not exist, scholarly work using critical discourse analysis generally exhibits the following characteristics: i) a strong focus on theory; ii) an interdisciplinary theoretical approach; iii) an explicit focus on social

justice and advocacy; iv) prioritization of language as a key unit of study tempered by the recognition that language cannot be divorced from the social context(s) in which it is embedded; and, v) the inclusion of historical and cultural context as a key component in analysis. (p. 60)

Fairclough's Approach to CDA

This study employs Fairclough's three-dimensional socio-semiotic approach to CDA (See Figure 3) (Fairclough, 1989, 1995a; Hart, 2010; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This approach has also been referred to as the 3-D model (Haig, 2004), or the Lancaster School (Haig, 2012). Other scholars have simply referred to it as Fairclough's model (Breeze, 2011; Lee, 2013) or Fairclough's CDA (Hill, 2009). The reason for making the distinction is to avoid confusing it with Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach (DRA), the analytical framework he presents in Wodak and Meyer's (2001) *Methods in Critical Discourse Analysis* (See Figure 2 and Appendix C). In this dissertation, I use a variety of descriptors such as Fairclough's three-dimensional approach/model/framework/method or the three-dimensional model when referring to the method.

Fairclough's approach to CDA can generally be described as a socio-semiotic approach (Fairclough, 2001; Hart, 2010; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002) because one of its core theoretical components is Halliday's systematic functional linguistics which posits that "language is a social activity" and functions in a socio-cultural structure (Halliday, 1976, p. xx). Further, not only does language perform the function of being a medium of communication between people in a given community, but it also establishes, maintains and determines the associations, connections and relationships between these people (Halliday, 1976). This explains the CDA position that texts hold much more meaning beyond their grammatical and syntactical features.

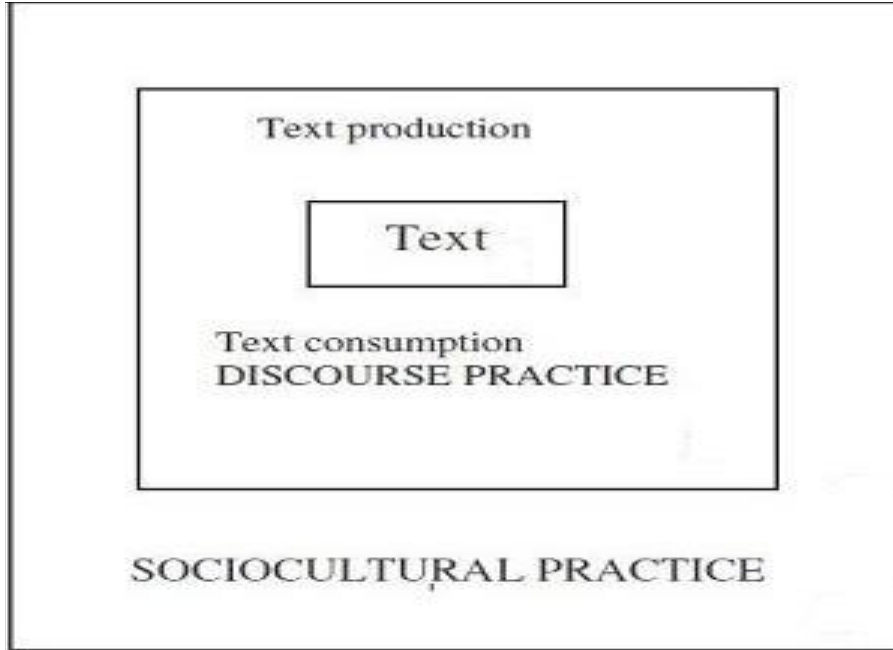
Fairclough's (2003) premise is that "texts can have causal effects upon, and contribute to changes in people (beliefs, attitudes, etc.), actions, social relations, and the material world" (p.8).

Meaning of Socio-semiotic. Socio-semiotic is a derivative of semiosis and social life. Semiosis refers to various forms of meaning-making and covers communicative elements that include signs and symbols, verbal and non-verbal cues such as visual images, body language, and spoken language. Semiosis is central to various forms of social life and social practice. Fairclough (2001) explains how semiosis plays out in social practice. He notes that:

Firstly, it figures as a part of the social activity within a practice. For instance part of doing a job...is using language in a particular way; so too is part of governing a country. Secondly, it figures in representations. Social actors within any practice produce representations of other practices, as well as ('reflexive') representations of their own practice...and different social actors will represent them differently according to how they are positioned within the practice. Thirdly, semiosis figures in 'performances' of particular positions within social practices. The identities of people who operate in positions in a practice are only partly specified by the practice itself. People who differ in social class, in gender, in nationality, in ethnic or cultural membership, and in life experience, produce different 'performances' of a particular position. (Fairclough, 2001, p. 123)

The points above buttress how Fairclough's socio-semiotic CDA approach meshes with the critical and constructivist paradigm of qualitative research. Also, it reveals the appropriateness of this approach for the study.

Figure 3: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Socio-Semiotic CDA Model



(Fairclough, 1995a)

Establishing Trustworthiness

To establish rigor and trustworthiness, the study employed the following criteria: credibility, transferability, auditability, confirmability, group analysis, and thick description. This study also used other CDA dissertations and publications (e.g., Lauritsen, 2006; Lee, 2013; Post, 2009; Saichaie, 2011) as reference points to ensure the accurate application of the CDA approach. Lee (2013) used thick description as a means of establishing the validity of her dissertation, *A Critical Discourse Analysis of Multicultural Education Policies and their Local Implementation in Korea*. Thick description refers to writing that enables a reader or reviewer to experience the context of a research study (Glesne, 2006). As a demonstration of thick description, this study has provided a detailed account of the analysis process including an excerpt of my memo detailing my consultations with the faculty and students. This study has provided extensive details of the social and political context in which the policy documents were

developed. This is intended to enhance the reader's appreciation of how those contexts may have impacted the discourse on child labor and the relations of power. This is particularly demonstrated in the analysis of the social practice dimension of the texts (Chapter Four).

Additionally, this enhances the transferability of the study. Transferability checks if the findings of a study are in any way applicable to other populations or situations (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008). The extensive details makes situations and contexts in which the study is applicable easy to identify. It is therefore anticipated that the study's findings will be applicable to other regions of the world where child labor is prevalent. It will be of particular importance to places within Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly West Africa. The study will provide a reference point for others to begin to review how the notions and conceptions of children in their communities impact the prevalence of child labor. Additionally, others may be encouraged to apply the CDA model to various dimensions of child labor.

The steps taken in the analytic process, notably, the iterative reading of the data and memoing served to ensure extended and sustained engagement with the data to ensure credibility. Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that such sustained engagement is vital to achieving credibility. To demonstrate confirmability, quotes from the texts that were analyzed are presented in support of, and as justification for the interpretations and findings. This is referred to as warranting in discourse analysis (Wood & Kroger, 2000).

Group analysis was also utilized to enhance the study's rigor. Group analysis takes the form of consultation and discussions with a group of CDA scholars and experts. This group performed a function analogous to the use of peer debriefing and support

(PDS) groups. PDS groups help increase researchers' reflexivity, and also help reduce researcher bias (Padgett, 2008). I consulted with two Indiana University faculty and a faculty of Valley View University, Ghana, who are experts in the use of CDA and textual analysis. I was also involved in a peer review process with three Indiana University inquiry methodology doctoral students with knowledge of the theoretical and practical elements involved in the application of CDA. These measures helped ensure confirmability and credibility.

The consultations with the faculty and peer debriefing process also demonstrate the practice of auditability. Auditability refers to the independent and external review and examination of the research and analytic process (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008). I maintained an audit trail logging the times and duration of my engagement with the data, and also kept record of my reflexive and analytic memos, and preliminary analysis of the data. These were reviewed in my consultations with the faculty experts and inquiry methodology students. Those consultations and interactions with the faculty and students helped ensure fidelity to the process and the accuracy of my analysis. Some of the feedback I received as part of these meetings and consultations included the need for more clarity and explicitness in stating the results and findings of my analysis. Another point that was raised during these consultations included the need for more quotes from the data to warrant and support my claims.

The Positioning of the Researcher and Reflexivity

Researcher bias mostly results from the close nature of research relationships in qualitative studies. CDA research is quite different. It relies heavily on data made up of existing texts (de Salvo, 2013; Hill, 2009). The benefit of using existing texts as data is

that they are non-reactive. Also, there is no concern for respondent bias. However, researcher bias remains a matter of concern. This is because a researcher's analysis and interpretation of the texts may be affected by preconceived notions and personal opinion (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008). This can negatively affect the trustworthiness of a study; it is therefore important for researchers to make their assumptions and biases known (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008). These personal assumptions and opinions constitute part of what Fairclough (1989) refers to as members' resources. The members' resources also include people's values, belief systems, and representations of the social and natural worlds in which they live. Fairclough (1989) noted that people draw on these things in their heads when either producing or interpreting texts. Thus, their disclosure, similar to the concept of bracketing, is a way of promoting transparency and enhancing trustworthiness (Padgett, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). I present my members' resources below.

My interest in child labor dates back to 2009. Up until that point I was oblivious to the prevalence of child labor in Ghana despite growing up there. A Ghanaian social worker liked an article I had written on Ghana's 2008 presidential elections offering a simple analysis of people's patterns of thought in voting. He suggested I consider writing about child labor. Since then I have written several news articles and term papers on the subject. My doctoral education also presented an opportunity for further exploration of this issue. During the course of my doctoral education I have gained critical insight and awareness of various dimensions of the issue. I have become more aware of the diverse factors impacting child labor. This has caused me to question my own assumptions about

the issue and raise more questions about the ways in which it has generally been presented.

In my first attempts to look at child labor critically, I perceived it to be the result of poverty and greed. I also thought it was synonymous with child trafficking. This view of child labor was partly informed by the story of James Kofi Annan, a Ghanaian child labor activist, who was sold by his family to work in some Ghanaian fishing villages when he was just 6 years old. I later got to know there were several cases like that in Ghana. I also linked child labor to traditional practices and customs. This was also based on the case of the “Trokosi” girls mostly found in the Volta Region of Ghana. I read about their stories in the Ghanaian dailies, and also saw news footage. The exact number of girls involved in this form of ritual slavery and sexual servitude is not known. However, reports indicate that there are thousands of girls involved.

Growing up in a middle-income home, and in an urban community limited my exposure to the full extent and nature of child labor in Ghana. However, I often saw and personally knew people, who as children, engaged in petty trading, street hawking, carting goods in the market places, serving as minivan conductors, and assisting with family businesses such as milling grain and food vending. Some of them performed these tasks in order to supplement the incomes of their families while others did it as one would do a household chore. Some also did this at the expense of being in school. Nevertheless, I never felt or thought of it as something so strange. Rather simplistically, I just felt some people have it better or worse than others. I also did not make any connections or links with how macro and micro political and economic factors influenced people’s lives. I didn’t fully appreciate the impact of such activities on the development of children.

I do not view child labor to be entirely wrong or negative. I believe children's involvement in work may present some benefits for themselves and their families. I also believe there are work activities even for young children that create opportunities for early skill acquisition and development. Again, such work activities present opportunities for positive relationships and mentoring (Halpern, 2006). However, there are also some grim realities of child work (Klocker, 2011; Marlenga, Berg, Linneman, Brison & Pickett, 2007). A lot of the horrific stories I have heard have been about children in farming and fishing communities in Northern Ghana, and along the Volta Lake. My wife worked on some community projects in parts of Ghana, and often recounted stories of young people involved in illegal artisanal mining, locally referred to as "galamsey." Despite all this, I also believe the child labor issue is sometimes exaggerated usually by some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and people in the media. Some of these NGOs inflate the figures indicating the number of children involved in child labor and make graphic and horrific presentations as a way of appealing to people's emotions in order to increase donations and funds from international agencies.

Over the course of my graduate studies, reviewing the existing literature and exploring the issue further, I find some of the child labor activities such as the engagement of very young boys in the local marine industry to be extreme. The tasks children are sometimes required to perform can be overly daunting and detrimental to their well-being. For instance, long hours of engagement in domestic or farm-related activities may have an adverse impact on academic work (Klocker, 2011; Marlenga et al., 2007). I believe all children should receive support for optimal development. I therefore think efforts that will make children's livelihoods comfortable and enjoyable are

commendable. However, in trying to address the ills some child work activities pose to children, researchers and scholars, policy makers, human rights activists and advocates, businesses and trade institutions, parents and guardians have a responsibility of ensuring we assess the child labor issue critically and accurately. Attention needs to be given to the various facets of the issue. There is the need for society to also take into consideration the views and perspectives of these children. In a lot of instances, the child labor issue ends up being oversimplified. This study will help address the oversimplification of the child labor problem.

I also think that when it comes to the regional character and nature of child labor, a lot of other factors come to bear on the issue. The child labor issue may be intertwined with other issues of cultural identity and dignity, and political and economic autonomy. The representation and portrayal of Africans in Western media and texts has sometimes been riddled with bias and negativity. Child labor appears to have given some media outlets more fodder for negative portrayals of African countries. I am therefore concerned with promoting factual and accurate presentations of issues such as child labor on the continent.

Ethical Considerations

The collection of the data for the study did not involve interventions or interactions with any human subject or subjects. Further, the process of collection did not include the provision or disclosure of identifiable private information. Therefore there was no risk to human participants and a review by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and ethics approval was not necessary for this study (Saichaie, 2011). Other dissertations

using CDA, and employing texts as data have not needed to undergo the IRB process (e.g. Saichaie, 2011).

Sampling

This study used a purposive sampling technique in selecting the study sample. Purposeful sampling is the selection of a sample that holds information specific to the subject or phenomenon under study. This allows the researcher to focus in depth on the subject or phenomenon (Padgett, 2008; Patton, 2001). The study's sample of 16 child labor-related policy documents was specifically chosen because they are the main documents directly and practically relevant in realizing the study's overall objective: an examination of notions and conceptions of who is a child, and what childhood entails in key conventions and legislation on child labor relating to Ghana. (See Appendix A).

Sampling Rationale. Proponents of CDA do not have strict or explicit guidelines regarding the numbers or quantity of data that is considered sufficient for analysis. They, however, recommend the selection of a manageable sample that will allow for close and deeper analysis (Saichaie, 2011). Previous studies suggest the use of relatively small samples. Lauritsen (2006) used a sample of two United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) policy documents in a critical discourse analysis of UNESCO's literacy programs. Post (2009) used a sample of 6 campaign speeches for a critical discourse analysis of the 2008 presidential elections in the US. Saichaie (2011) also used a sample of 12 institutions in a critical discourse analysis of how universities represent themselves on their websites. In view of the examples above, this study's selection of 16 documents is appropriate, and consistent with trends in CDA.

Data Collection

Most of the CDA traditions do not grant explicit or direct recommendations of procedures for collecting data. However, the traditions of qualitative inquiry are generally considered as Discourse Analysis (DA) approaches are fundamentally qualitative. They usually examine written or oral texts and may obtain data from sources ranging from interviews, conversations, communication documents from the media, websites, to institutional and organizational documents including policy texts (de Salvo, 2013; Fairclough, 1989, 1995, 2001; Hart, 2010; Hill, 2009; Van Dijk, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). The 16 child labor-related policy documents and texts making up this study's sample are public records available on the World Wide Web, and were therefore collected from the websites hosting the documents (See Appendix A).

Data Analysis

The analysis of the 16 child labor-related policy documents was conducted using Fairclough's three-dimensional model (1989, 1995). However, that was not the sole, albeit important, aspect of the analysis process. The steps preceding the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional model, in addition to providing a systematic and standardized framework for analysis, also served to facilitate my immersion in the data, and deepen my familiarity with the contents therein. CDA researchers such as Chehade (2013) have employed similar approaches. Preceding the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional method, Chehade (2013) conducted what she calls "a pre-analysis or analytic brainstorming stage" which granted her general insight of the documents under

analysis including how they were interconnected (p. 79). The framework and specific measures taken in the analysis of my data are outlined and explicated below:

1. Iterative and cyclical reading of the data
2. Memoing
 - Analytic and Reflexive
3. Coding
 - Deductively and Inductively
4. Application of the three-dimensional model
 - Textual Analysis
 - Analysis of Discourse Practice (Discursive Practice)
 - Analysis of Social/Sociocultural Practice

The Analytic Process

It must be noted that the process of analysis was not linear or sequential. It was cyclical, with various aspects overlapping which is common with CDA research (Chehade, 2013). The analysis was conducted in multiple phases beginning with the 12 policy documents from the ILO (See Appendix A). There is no strict guideline or rule concerning the ordering of documents or the starting point for analysis. Therefore, the order in which the documents were analyzed was subjectively determined (Chehade, 2013). However, to ensure orderliness, and to make the process systematic, the analysis of the ILO Conventions followed a chronological order using the years when they were created or published. The conventions are listed below according to that order:

1. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 (C005)
2. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention, 1920 (C007)

3. Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (C010)
4. Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921 (C015)
5. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932 (C033)
6. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936 (C058)
7. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937 (C059)
8. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937 (C060)
9. Minimum Age (Fishermen) Convention, 1959 (C112)
10. Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965 (C123)
11. Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (C138)
12. Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention, 1999 (C182)

Following the analysis of the 12 ILO Conventions I proceeded to analyze the rest of the data in the order listed below:

1. African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 1990
2. ECOWAS Regional Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour especially the worst forms, 2013
3. Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001
4. Ghana Children's Act, Act 560, 1998

The first stage of my analysis was based on the textual dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. I began the data analysis by recursively reading the documents, and memoing. I included memoing in my analytic framework following consultations with a faculty expert in CDA who was part of the team of CDA scholars I consulted with for my

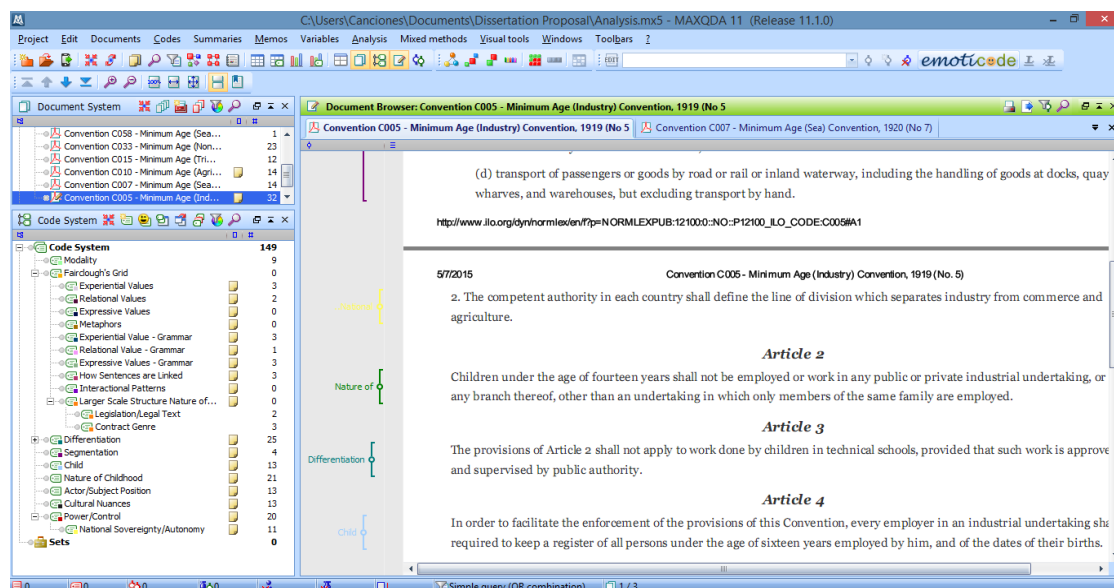
analysis. Consultations with such a team, sometimes referred to as group analysis, is a common feature of most qualitative studies and is vital to ensuring a study has rigor (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008).

Analytic Tools (Explained). Memoing can be defined as the documenting of one's thoughts and ideas about the data and the research process (Birks & Chapman, 2008; Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). Memoing may be done as a precursor to the analysis proper but it can also be done concurrently as one performs the data analysis. Also, it represents the documenting of patterns one sees emerging from the data (Birks & Chapman, 2008). Memoing may be analytic, examining and exploring the research data. It could also be reflective or reflexive, a way of capturing one's thoughts and reflections about the research process. Reflexive memoing can be emotive and affective (Birks & Chapman, 2008; Mills et al., 2006). I used both types of memoing in this study. First, as a precursor to the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional method, and concurrently, during the proper analysis of the data.

Memoing, as an analytic technique, enhanced my immersion in the data and also provided a foundation for increased reflexivity. The memos enabled me to capture and reflect on the different ideas that emerged as I explored the data. Memoing also enabled me to keep track of my own thought processes (Birks, Chapman & Francis, 2008). The next step after memoing was the inductive and deductive coding of the policy documents. The coding was conducted using MAXQDA, a qualitative data analysis software. There has been an increase in the use of computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) packages among scholars undertaking qualitative research, and MAXQDA is one of the commonly known ones (Lester, 2015). Qualitative researchers use these

software packages in a variety of ways, notably, in the transcription process, coding, and annotating of data. The software packages are also helpful in conducting the analysis of data systematically (Lester, 2015). The MAXQDA software was particularly useful in the initial stages of my analysis. I imported all the documents I was going to analyze into MAXQDA and used it to manage the data. I also used MAXQDA for organizing the code system, and memos, and in conducting quick references and making comparisons across the data. Figure 4 shows the MAXQDA interface with the document system (showing some of the documents I imported), the code system (codes I created) and the document browser (showing one of the documents with codes attached). In addition to MAXQDA, Nvivo, another qualitative data analysis software, was used to generate word trees to examine the words and phrases used in the documents, particularly, words and phrases related to child labor. (See Appendices D – J).

Figure 4: Screen Shot of MAXQDA



The study's research questions provided the basis for developing codes deductively. Additionally, the list of questions Fairclough (1989) provides as a guide for

textual analysis which include, “is there rewording or over-wording?” and “what ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words?” were instrumental in the coding process as well as the development of the analytic memos (See Appendix B). The deductive codes included ‘Power/Control’, which pointed to indications of power and control in the documents, and ‘Nature of Childhood’ which pertained to the expectations of children, roles and responsibilities of children, and beliefs about children. More codes were also created inductively. The inductive codes included ‘Cultural Nuances’, which pointed to indicators of cultural representation, and ‘Differentiation’, which pointed to the differentiation or separation of child work activities in the documents. It is also worth noting that multiple codes could be applied to certain words and sentences. For example, the following excerpt from Article 3 of Convention C033, “children over twelve years of age may, outside the hours fixed for school attendance, be employed on light work” was coded as ‘Nature of Childhood’ and ‘Differentiation’ because it indicates that children are expected to be in school; yet, outside school there are certain forms of employment – light work – they can be involved in.

These codes influenced the selection of strands of text for the textual analysis. The selected strands of text also informed analysis at the levels of Discourse Practice and Social/Sociocultural Practice. At the level of Discourse Practice, the codes and the selected strands of text were influential in identifying cues for intertextuality, i.e., identifying how the documents were interconnected. At the level of Social/Sociocultural Practice, the lexical choices of some of the ILO’s Conventions such as *colonies* and *protectorates* prompted the review of the ILO’s history with colonialism particularly in

connection with the development of its Conventions. A more detailed discussion is presented in the analysis of the ILO Conventions (See Chapter Five).

The goal of the analysis was to examine how ‘child’ and ‘childhood’ are discursively defined or constructed in the child labor-related policy documents. In this regard, cross comparisons were made of all the policy documents to see how ‘child’ and ‘childhood’ were defined or described. The policy documents were also analyzed in order to understand the power dynamics in the discourse on child labor, and ascertain who has power in the development of these standards and provisions on child labor.

The Three-Dimensional Framework. The components of Fairclough’s three-dimensional approach – textual analysis, analysis of discourse practice, and analysis of social practice – as used in the analysis of the data are explained below. These three levels of analysis mark the movement from description to interpretation to explanation. They are also indicative of a progression from a micro-linguistic approach in reviewing the text to a macro approach that pays attention to the social, cultural, and political processes as well as the hegemonic and ideological processes of discourse (Chehade, 2013; Fairclough, 1989, 1995a, 1995b; Lee, 2013) (See Table 6 for a list of the steps and some of the questions that guided their application to the child labor phenomenon).

Table 6: Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Socio-Semiotic CDA Model

| Level | Dimension of Analysis | Purpose | Child Labor Application |
|-------|-------------------------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | Textual Component | Description | What is the content of the policy documents? What are the lexical and grammatical features of the policy documents? |
| 2 | Discursive Practices | Interpretation | How are the policy documents structured and developed? What are the influencing factors? |
| 3 | Social/Sociocultural Practice | Explanation | Who is a child? What are the prevailing conceptions of childhood? What are the social and cultural practices? What are the past or existing political/social conditions? |

(Fairclough, 1989, 1995; Lee, 2013)

Textual Analysis. Textual analysis encompasses linguistic and intertextual analysis which entail an analysis of the content as well as the form or organization of texts. This involves an examination of the general format of the documents (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). As Fairclough (1995b) points out, “one cannot properly analyze content without simultaneously analyzing form, because contents are always necessarily realized in forms and different contents entail different forms and vice versa” (p. 188). What this means is that one cannot disregard the structural features of any discourse because those features are integral to making the discourse what it is. An example of this was in my analysis of the ILO Conventions. My recognition of the Conventions as pieces of

legislation was instrumental in helping me understand and interpret their purpose and function more accurately.

The linguistic analysis was conducted through the application of Fairclough's list of questions (Fairclough, 1989) (See Appendix B). The questions presented in Fairclough's (1989) list can be placed into three broad categories – vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures. Though the analysis of the texts are covered under these broad categories, the relevance and applicability of the questions in Fairclough's (1989) list of questions varied among the texts that were analyzed. Using this list of questions, I focused on specific choices of words, grammatical, and linguistic features in the data based on the values or qualities they exhibited. According to Fairclough (1989), the vocabulary in any text or discourse may have three types of value: experiential, relational, and expressive. Experiential value refers to how particular words or grammatical features of a text are used to convey knowledge and beliefs. Also, certain words and verbal forms can be purposefully chosen or arranged to present particular ideological viewpoints and representations of reality (Fairclough, 1989, 1995b). Relational value points to the social relationships enacted in a text or discourse. The words in a text or discourse can be indicative of the nature of the relationship between participants or subjects of the discourse (Fairclough, 1989). Expressive value also shows how, in a discourse, a writer or speaker's evaluation or assessment of an action or practice may be implied in the words or grammatical constructions they use (Fairclough, 1989).

My analysis of the Ghana Children's Act provides an example of my application of Fairclough's list of questions. The Ghana Children's Act has the following clause:

Prohibition of exploitative child labour (Ghana Children’s Act, 1998, Sub-part I). I found the phrase, *exploitative child labour* very interesting. Informed by Fairclough’s list of questions, I probed why the drafters of the document chose this phrasing. Was it not enough to say “*Prohibition of child labour*”? What function did the word “*exploitative*” serve besides being an adjective? Was it marking a ‘Differentiation’ of forms of child labor? Was it more of an ideological statement? This example also demonstrates how portions or extracts of the documents were selected for analysis or used in substantiating my findings.

The textual dimension of the analysis also covered intertextuality. Intertextual analysis may focus on the orders of discourse to reveal how the data utilizes certain forms, patterns, and structures from a wide range of generally accepted social, cultural, and political practices (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). In other words, this reveals how a particular text leans on existing social structures and conventions (Fairclough, 1995b). Intertextual analysis further accentuates the connection between texts and society and history (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). Thus, at the level of textual analysis, in addition to examining specific instances of language use in the policy documents on child labor, I also reviewed the overall structure of the texts to determine the social, cultural, and political practices they drew on. I discuss other aspects of intertextuality under the sections on discourse practice because intertextuality is also a feature of text production (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a, 1995b).

Analysis of Discourse Practice (Discursive Practice). Following the textual analysis, another level of analysis – discourse practice – was conducted. Discourse practice is generally concerned with the production of discourses (Fairclough, 1989,

1995). However, it is a very intricate and nested process that involves many layers. As a result of its intricateness, the description of the discourse practice dimension can be quite perplexing, explaining why scholars such as Widdowson (2004) consider CDA to be obfuscating. Below, I attempt to offer a lucid explanation of the discourse practice dimension without watering-down what it entails. This also serves to engender an understanding of how the method was applied in my study. Also, considering the technical nature of some the concepts, some of the definitions and explanations given here are reprised in my “Analysis Chapters.”

The discourse practice dimension can be broadly divided into two parts, namely, institutional processes and discourse processes. The institutional aspect involves an overview of the institutional practices and procedures for creating discourses. It is concerned with the organizational and logistical aspects of discourse production. Again, it covers the structure and order of the production process (Fairclough, 1995b). The examination of the institutional process can offer significant insight about organizational or institutional protocols and routines in relation to policy-making. It allows for a close-up shot of interactions and decision-making; thus, making it possible for one to even examine how organizational hierarchies and relations of power influence discourse production (Fairclough, 1995b; Van Dijk, 1988).

Whereas the institutional aspect refers to the structure and the order of the process involved in production, the discourse process focuses on the elements that are put together to make a text or discourse (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b). Central to the discourse process is the issue of the relations between discursive practices, and the complex ways in which discourses draw upon each other (Fairclough, 1992, 1995a, 1995b). The analysis

of discourse processes therefore focuses on the intertextual properties of texts which is embodied in the concept of intertextuality. According to Fairclough (1995a), intertextual analysis entails “looking at the text from the perspective of discourse practice, looking at the traces of the discourse practice in the text” (p. 61). This means looking at, and examining the sources utilized by the formulators of a discourse (Fairclough, 1995a). Also, as Fairclough (1995a) explains it, “intertextual analysis aims to unravel the various genres and discourses – often, in creative discourse practice, a highly complex mixture – which are articulated together in the text” (p. 61).

Forms of Intertextuality. Intertextuality is a binary concept (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). The two forms of intertextuality are *manifest intertextuality* and *constitutive intertextuality* also known as *interdiscursivity* (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). The previous discussion of intertextuality in the textual analysis section which was limited to a brief discussion of genres and styles was indicative of interdiscursivity or constitutive intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). Constitutive intertextuality (or interdiscursivity) refers to how the configurations and conventions of other discourses other than actual or direct textual references may be constituted within a discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). Manifest intertextuality refers to the direct referencing or incorporation of the textual elements of other discourses (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). Manifest intertextuality is commonly signaled by direct quotes of other texts or discourses. Hence, whereas manifest intertextuality is overt, constitutive intertextuality is covert (Fairclough, 1992).

Alternatively, discourse practice can also be broken down into the following components: the production, distribution, and consumption of the texts (Fairclough, 1989,

1992, 1995; Hill, 2009; Pasha, 2011). Concerning production, the examination of the texts focused on intertextual and interdiscursive analysis, which is aimed at identifying the various genres and discourse types the texts were composed of (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Hill, 2009). Concerning distribution, the examination of the texts focused on intertextual chains, which refers to ways in which a text has been transformed and reproduced (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). In regards to distribution, the analysis revealed significant intertextual and interdiscursive connections among all the child labor-related policy documents. This is diagrammatically conveyed in Figure 6 (See Chapter Eight). Further, my analysis revealed that the ILO's discourse on child labor had generally been reproduced in one form or the other in all the other policy documents. For example, the ILO's discourse on child labor as presented in convention C182 was the premise of the Harkin-Engel Protocol. Further details of the patterns of distribution are presented in the "Analysis Chapters."

Lastly, concerning the consumption of the text, the focus was on the conditions surrounding the interpretation of the texts such as the position of the interpreters and the resources and protocols that impact that process (Fairclough, 1992). The review of literature on child welfare and child labor offered insight on interpretations and perceptions of some of the child labor policy documents. For example, in the case of the literature on child welfare and child labor in Ghana, Kuyini and Mahama (2009) revealed that the Ghana Children's Act had created feelings of alienation in some communities. Further, Nordtveit (2010), based on case studies in Benin, Namibia and Swaziland, expressed the view that international discourses tend to be dismissive of local or domestic social constructions of children and childhood.

As regards the analytic process, some of the fundamental questions that informed my discourse practice analysis were: which texts and discourses influenced the generation of the text in question? In what ways have the texts been transformed through discourse? What other texts or discourses have been developed based on the contents of the texts under analysis? Questions such as these enabled me to review the policy documents critically to identify how they had been shaped by historical developments, and how they had also contributed to historical development. These questions also inspired other questions and thoughts that were significant in helping me see manifestations and representations of power. An example of some these questions and thoughts is, why the ILO was repeatedly referenced in the other policy documents.

It is important to mention that the analyses of the text and the process of production are inadequate in ensuring a comprehensive understanding of child labor discourse and its related power dynamics. Therefore, further analysis of the social, economic, political, and cultural context and conditions – the social/sociocultural practice dimension - was conducted. This was done both as a matter of necessity and fidelity to Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional CDA approach. What the sociocultural practice dimension entails and how it fit into my study is explained below.

Analysis of Social/Sociocultural Practice. The social/sociocultural practice dimension extends the analysis of discourses to a much wider context beyond the grammatical and textual features, and the processes of production (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). The analysis of sociocultural practice involves both semiotic and non-semiotic elements and may focus on a variety of aspects or issues. The analysis may focus on the direct situational context or it may be limited to the institutional context with

a focus on institutional practices. The analysis of sociocultural practice may also focus on the much wider context of the society and culture. The particular aspects chosen for analysis may be dependent on the topic or discourse under review (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b). Language and linguistic phenomena are socially mediated and in turn cumulatively impact society. Therefore, attending to the broader social and cultural context is necessary to ensure more than just a partial understanding of discourses (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995b; Hill, 2007; Pasha, 2011).

In this study, the analysis covers the situational and institutional contexts, examining the origins of the institutions involved, and the situations that occasioned the development of the documents being analyzed. This instance of the analysis overlapped with the aspect of discourse practice where I concentrated on institutional processes and practices in regards to discourse development as it revealed, not just chronological details about the institutions but also, important information about their organs and functions. The analysis of sociocultural practice also focused on the sociocultural matrix, and the political and ideological effects of discourse, exploring the implications of discourses in the broader sociocultural context (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995; Hill, 2009; Pasha, 2011). Quite similar to the other stages, there is no checklist or required points one must strictly conform to at this stage of the analysis (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2007). Yet, Fairclough (1992) suggests the following points and questions for consideration: an examination of the social context of discourse, looking at specific “social and hegemonic relations and structures” within the sphere under analysis (p. 237). Are those relationships normative and conventional, creative and innovative, or even oppositional and contradictory?

The attention to the political and ideological elements embedded within discourses is important because various institutional and political forces attempt to place their stamp on discursive practices through text production (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Hill, 2009; Pasha, 2011). Practices that may be viewed as conventional and normative may generally not be characterized by homogeneity of thought. On the contrary, they are characterized by diversity, and by power struggles (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). However, people may not always be aware of these subtleties, and the ideologically-induced nature of their own practices and actions (Fairclough, 1989, 1992). This is because the “ideologies built into conventions may be more or less naturalized and automated and people may find it difficult to comprehend that their normal practices could have specific ideological investments” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 90). This explains why a historical review of discourses is important. Historicizing discourses and texts can help in uncovering their subtleties and obscured ideologies, and demonstrate their importance to the phenomena under review (Fairclough, 1992, 1995b). Discourses often serve as indicators of societal and institutional responses to political, social, and cultural events. Thus, a diachronic review of those contexts helps put our understanding of the resulting discourses and the phenomena under study, in this case, child labor, in proper perspective (Fairclough, 1992, 1995b).

Conclusion and Outline of the Analysis Chapters

This concludes my first explanation and discussion of Fairclough’s three-dimensional framework, particularly, what it entails, and some examples of how it was applied in my study. The next three chapters demonstrate the full application of the framework to the 16 child labor-related policy documents. As I mentioned earlier, some

of the explanations and details above are reprised in the “Analysis Chapters” to facilitate the reader’s understanding of the process and the results I present. The chapters are marked as such:

- Chapter Five: The ILO Conventions
- Chapter Six: The OAU/AU African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, The ECOWAS RAP, and The Harkin-Engel Protocol
- Chapter Seven: The Ghana Children’s Act, Act 560

I organized the analysis into different chapters to enhance the readability of my dissertation. Further, the order of the chapters simply follows the pattern in which the policy documents were analyzed. Thematic considerations determined why the ILO Conventions and the Ghana Children’s Act are presented as separate chapters while the OAU/AU’s ACRWC, the ECOWAS RAP, and the Harkin-Engel Protocol are put together in a single chapter. The ILO Conventions are universal in scope pertaining to the whole world. The Ghana Children’s Act is a local or domestic instrument pertaining to Ghana. The ACRWC is a regional instrument for Africa, and the ECOWAS RAP and the Harkin-Engel Protocol are both sub-regional instruments for West Africa. Though the Harkin-Engel Protocol, by virtue of the participants involved in its development (i.e., the multinational companies), has a global element, it was purposely developed for West Africa.

For the “Analysis Chapters,” the individual presentations for the different policy documents were sometimes interlaced with presentations across the data points. I found the individual presentations essential in elucidating the unique features and characteristics of each of the policy documents as well as highlighting the findings specific to each

document. Also, using this approach enabled me to compare and contrast the documents more easily, and make the differences and similarities across the documents more apparent. It is also important to note that these chapters were not necessarily structured according to the broad findings or the broad interpretative ideas though some discussion of those aspects is done in these chapters. They were primarily structured to depict the levels of Fairclough's three-dimensional model – sociocultural practice, textual analysis, and discourse practice – and their related features, and reveal the discursive strategies employed in the policy documents. Using this approach allowed for a coherent presentation of the multi-faceted analysis and provide cues of my findings which are presented in full in Chapter Eight.

Another important thing to note about the “Analysis Chapters” is that because they offer tangible cues and significant insight about the findings, the sub-sections are sometimes titled to reflect those cues and insights. One example of this is the “*the nature of childhood and the employment of children*” in the analysis of the ILO Conventions. In other cases, the titles of the sub-sections are based on the textual or grammatical technique being examined or the discursive strategy in the text. An example of this is *manifest intertextuality* in the *Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)* sections of the policy documents. This approach was informed by other CDA studies I examined, examples of which I present here. Hill (2009) and Pasha (2011) structured and captioned some of their analyses according to the textual and discursive techniques they employed though cues of their findings are clearly evident in their presentations. Hill (2009) used terms such as *interdiscursivity*, *manifest intertextuality*, and *intertextual chains*, and Pasha (2011) also used terms such as *transitivity*, *lexical choices*,

presupposition, and *sourcing* to illustrate the discursive strategies in their data rather than captions that pointed to the findings of the texts under review. In Chehade's (2013, p. 119) work some of the sub-sections of her analyses include "*the construction of the collective identity of the threatened*," which is indicative of one of her core findings rather than the discursive or textual technique employed in the extracts she was analyzing.

The reader may find some of the details in the "Analysis Chapters" to be quite technical. Though it is not uncommon to find such technical details and linguistic terms in CDA research (e.g., Hill, 2009; Pasha, 2011), I endeavor to explain the technicalities to allow for easy and meaningful reading for the reader who may not be very familiar with critical discourse analysis (CDA), especially, as espoused by Fairclough (1989, 1995a, 1995b). Nevertheless, my discussion of the findings in Chapter Eight as they relate to my research questions is largely devoid of such technicalities.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ILO CONVENTIONS

Introduction

This chapter is the first of a series of three “Analysis Chapters” detailing my analyses of the policy documents. In this chapter, I present my analysis of the ILO Conventions based on the application of Fairclough’s (1989) three-dimensional model. Though the social/sociocultural practice dimension is the third level in the three-dimensional framework, the order in which analysis is conducted, and how results and findings are reported, including how they are structured and organized, is not predetermined (Chehade, 2013; Hill, 2009; Locke, 2004). Therefore, in CDA studies it is not unusual for the researcher’s subjectivity to influence the structure and organization of the analysis and findings (Chehade, 2013).

In the presentation below, I chose to use the dimension of social/sociocultural practice as the starting point to engender an understanding of the social and cultural context as well as the institutional context of the policy documents. This also allowed for the historicization of the documents and their discourses on child labor, thus, helping explain how the broader historical context shaped the discourses. Further, this demonstrated that, per the assumptions of CDA, discourses do not occur in a vacuum (Carter, 2011; Fairclough, 1989, 1995a, 1995b). In addition to starting the presentation with the social/sociocultural practice dimension, I add an aspect of the discourse practice analysis that focuses on the institutional processes involved in the production of the documents in question where applicable. This is also done to provide background information on the technical and bureaucratic processes as well as the agents and actors

involved in the production process (Van Dijk, 1988). These decisions were considerably informed by Locke's (2004) suggestion of how results and findings can be presented to ensure coherence, and my consultations with the Indiana University inquiry methodology students. As previously mentioned, these students possessed significant knowledge and skills relating to CDA research. They were instrumental in helping me establish the needed rigor and trustworthiness for this study.

According to Locke (2004), the "social and cultural context [is] the necessary starting point for any worthwhile consideration of the forms, uses, and functions of language" (p. 21). The inquiry methodology students also recommended that I have a general section above my textual analysis that provides more information about the process and the actors involved (personal communication, June, 9, 2015). Hence, I start with the social/sociocultural practice dimension and details of the institutional process. I follow that up with the textual analysis after which I present another aspect of discourse practice – discourse process. I used the same format for the other two chapters of my analysis.

The ILO Conventions

Social/Sociocultural Practice

ILO – Origins and Formation. In the preface to the book *The Origins of the International Labour Organization: In Two Volumes*, Butler (1934a) states that "documents themselves are often the most misleading witnesses. One needs to know the circumstances under which they were produced and those in which they were used" (p. ix). This statement by Butler (1934a) underscores the need for one to be acquainted with the various contexts – the social, political, and cultural background as well as the

institutional context - surrounding the creation of the conventions. By knowing this, any evaluation or assessment of the conventions can be placed in the right perspective. The formation of the ILO, and the composition of its members was a process greatly impacted by political events and the quest for political, economic, and social stability in Europe. For this reason, decisions were made with serious consideration of their impact on the social and political fabric of Europe (Baccini & Koenig-Archibugi, 2012; Maul, 2012; Rodgers, Lee, Sweptson & Van Daele, 2009).

The ILO was created in 1919 at the same time as the League of Nations. Following the First World War, the European nations believed the issue of labor was central to ensuring peace. Therefore, issues pertaining to labor were included in the Treaty of Versailles which brought an end to the war (Baccini & Koenig-Archibugi, 2012; Maul, 2012; Rodgers et al., 2009). Agitation by labor unions were prevalent near to the end of the war. Following the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, there were increased concerns that labor unions in other nations in Europe would also take extremist and militant positions. For this reason, issues relating to labor were considered a matter of priority by the Peace Conference which drafted the Treaty of Versailles (Ghebali, Ago & Valticos, 1989; Rodgers, et al., 2009).

There had been various attempts at creating international labor standards prior to the war (Delevingne, 1934; Mahaim, 1934; Picquenard, 1934; Rodgers et al., 2009). Notably, there was the International Association for Labour Legislation (IALL) which was created in 1900. The IALL played a prominent role in establishing international agreements between states (Ghebali et al., 1989; Rodgers, et al., 2009; Van Daele, 2005). The IALL established two international conventions in 1906 regarding the use of white

phosphorus as an ingredient in the making of matches, and the prohibition of women from night work. These conventions were observed by 41 and 25, states respectively. However, the IALL's sphere of influence was limited to Europe so the formation of the ILO was meant to establish an organization with a wider scope and more power (Ghebali et al., 1989; Phelan, 1934a; Rodgers, et al., 2009; Van Daele, 2005).

The establishment of the ILO was the result of a collective effort with the principal actors being the countries that made up the Allied and Associated Governments. These were mostly European nations with the other principal actors being the United States and Japan (Ghebali et al., 1989; Phelan, 1934a). The Peace Conference set up a Commission made up of Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy and Japan, dubbed the Great Powers, and Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium who were referred to as Lesser Powers to draft the first constitution of the ILO (Phelan, 1934a). In determining the composition of the members of the ILO's organs, some questions and concerns arose regarding the equality of members. The Dominions, which were semi-independent nations of the British Commonwealth, wanted to be accorded the same rights as other countries with respect to the composition of the Governing Body of the ILO because they had been excluded from having elected seats on the Governing Body (Hughes & Haworth, 2009; Lindsay, 1934; Phelan, 1934b; Teer-Tomaselli, 2015). This was not just an issue about the political identity and recognition of the statehood of the Dominions. There were concerns, mainly from the United States, that giving the Dominions representation on the Governing Body of the ILO would give Britain undue advantage in the matters of the ILO (Hughes & Haworth, 2009; Lindsay, 1934). Similarly, at the first ILO Conference organized in Washington, another concern was raised regarding the

recognition of non-European countries. Europe had been the center of industrialization before the First World War. Predecessors to the ILO such as the IALL were at the core European organizations. However, after the war, industrialization in many non-European countries in Asia and America had gathered pace. So despite the long experience of the European states in industrialization, the non-European countries desired to assume prominent roles in the work of the ILO (Butler, 1934b). Thus, at the first Conference in 1919, the non-European nations made it known that “European predominance was foreign to its spirit and would be prejudicial to the success of the whole enterprise” (Butler, 1934b, p. 321).

The ILO’s Washington Conference of 1919 was attended by 73 delegates representing 39 countries. Additionally, there were 25 delegates representing employers and workers. With the exception of the countries that constituted the Central Powers (Germany, Hungary, Austria and Bulgaria) and the USSR, almost all the European countries were present (Butler, 1934b). Germany could not attend the Conference due to problematic shipping arrangements. The Baltic States made up of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania had not joined the ILO yet and were thus absent from the Conference. There were delegations from China, Japan, India, Persia and Siam (Thailand) representing Asia. Also, with the exception of the United States and Mexico, almost every country in North and South America was represented. The Union of South Africa (Republic of South Africa) was also represented at the Conference (Butler, 1934b).

Some protests were registered regarding governments’ interference and manipulation in the selection of the workers’ delegates from South Africa, Argentina, France, Cuba, and Japan. In its defense, the Japanese Government stated that its

involvement in the selection of the delegates was because the workers' unions were not adequately representative of all workers. After reviewing the issue, the Japanese delegates' participation in the Conference was endorsed though it was suggested that the unions should be actively involved in the process in the future (Butler, 1934b). Concerns were also raised about the use of English and French in official proceedings at the Conference. The Spanish Government recommended the use of Spanish as a third language because of the size of the Spanish-speaking delegates. Similar suggestions were made regarding German and the Slavic languages. At a cost to the United States Government, translation services were provided for the Spanish-speaking delegates (Butler, 1934b).

The points noted above demonstrate that there may have been concerns that hegemonic blocs could emerge. Having any one group gain political domination in the ILO could result in a situation where their views and interests became paramount, with a possible outcome being the neglect or diminishing of other views and interests. Such domination in the ILO could translate into social and political domination outside the ILO. At least that was the case, considering the impact of colonialists in shaping ILO policy (See 'The ILO's Dualist Approach' section below).

Also, having just emerged from a period of war (World War I) there was heightened awareness and sensitivity to situations that could result in countries having too much power and influence. Thus, the whole process was also seen as a way to promote diplomatic relations.

The Central Powers, comprising Austria, Hungary, and Germany were only included in the process of creating the ILO at a later time. Though it had initially been

decided that membership in the ILO would be coincident with membership in the League of Nations, Germany and Austria were granted early membership. This was done at the behest of the International Federation of Trade Unions (IFTU) which believed the admission of these countries notwithstanding the status of their membership on the League of Nations would help ease diplomatic tensions (Butler, 1934b; Phelan, 1934b). The treatment given to Germany and Austria was an exception and may have been as a result of their prominence and political clout because other countries such as Finland did not acquire full membership of the ILO until they became members of the League of Nations (Butler, 1934b).

National and Regional Composition of the ILO's Organs. On the Governing Body, there were 12 spots available for governments. Per the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, eight of those spots were given to countries of prime industrial importance. Among these countries, Japan and the United States were the only non-European countries. The European countries were Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Switzerland (ILO, 2007). The occupants of the four remaining seats were determined through elections. Poland, Canada, Argentina and Spain were elected to occupy those positions. So in the first instance, only four non-European countries had government seats in the Governing Body. Provision was also made for Denmark to replace the United States in the event that the latter did not sign the Treaty because at that time the United States' decision on the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles was not yet known (Butler, 1934b; ILO, 2007).

The non-European countries expressed dissatisfaction with the make-up of the representatives for the employers' and workers' groups on the Governing Body. All six

representatives of the employers' group nominated for the Governing Body were Europeans. The workers' group also had six representatives on the Governing Body. One representative was from Canada, and the rest were from Europe (Butler, 1934b). To help resolve the impasse, the number of seats on the Governing Body was increased from 24 to 32 to enable the non-European countries to have better representation. This was done through an amendment in 1922 (Butler, 1934b). The above reveals that the creation of the ILO was largely a political process that linked working conditions and the protection of workers with social peace (Ghebali et al., 1989). The process was dominated and heavily influenced by European states. Despite the involvement of non-European countries such as the United States and Japan, the ILO was at the core European, and very Western-oriented. Countries such as India which were non-European and non-Western were represented by a European colonial administration. Therefore, the ILO's provisions mostly reflected the interests of the European and Western parties. The discussion below helps illustrate the ideological and hegemonic imprint of the Western countries.

The ILO's Dualist Approach. At its inception, the ILO used a dual approach in the application of its standards. Countries such as China, India and Japan were held to lower standards. The decision was predicated on climate differences, social and cultural traditions, and the levels of industrialization in the member countries and the countries colonized by member states (Maul, 2012; Phelan, 1934b; Rodgers, et al., 2009). Furthermore, in the early and late 1930s, the ILO differentiated between workers in the industrialized and developed nations and those in the underdeveloped nations which were mostly the regions under colonial control. One of the Conventions adopted for this purpose was Convention C29, the Forced Labour Convention. Under this Convention

forced labor in the colonial territories of member countries was accepted though it was limited to the public sector (Maul, 2012; Rodgers et al., 2009). The ILO's position on matters dealing with the colonial territories was one of acquiescence. The colonial powers wielded a lot of power and influence in the ILO. Nine of the 12 government seats on the Governing Body were occupied by colonial powers who strongly objected to efforts to set standards or determine the application of Conventions to their territories. The colonial powers viewed such attempts as an affront to their national sovereignty (Maul, 2012). In lieu of this, the colonial powers advocated the application of different ILO standards to their countries and their colonies in Africa and Asia, arguing that the colonized states were backward and primitive (Maul, 2012).

Child Labor. The dual approach and the differentiation of people based on their geographic location, cultural orientation, and the political and economic status of their countries impacted the issue of child labor as well. Thus in some of the early Conventions, a different set of applications and exceptions were made for countries such as China, India and Japan (Lieten, 2010; Rodgers et al., 2009). Though the Workers' group involved in the proceedings for drafting the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, C33, demanded that Indian children should be given the same level of protection as children elsewhere, the employers' group and some governments suggested that that should be done gradually (Rodgers et al., 2009). The colonial administration in India cited the different conditions such as the climate, customs and traditions, the state of industrialization as well as the schooling system in India, which was not compulsory, as reasons why the standards should not be applied to India. Additionally, the colonial administration claimed the Indian people were benighted, and

further argued that the pace of industrialization in India would be negatively affected should the standards be applied there (Rodgers et al., 2009).

Some of the early motivations to institute regulatory mechanisms for child labor were not to expressly offer protection to children (Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Rodgers et al., 2009). The regulations were instituted with a view to safeguard the interests of adult workers. As noted earlier, the formation of the ILO had among other factors been occasioned by concerns of labor unrests and agitations given the incident surrounding the Bolshevik revolution in Russia. During the early postwar periods one of the major concerns was to provide displaced soldiers with employment. Again, in the industrialized countries it was becoming evident that child labor was a drawback to development and national stability. This resulted in a shift in the position on child employment which until then had been seen as a way to reduce production costs. These shifts subsequently impacted reforms in the employment of children (Lieten, 2010; Rodgers et al., 2009). By 1918, 23 European states already had minimum age legislation with either 13 or 14 years as the minimum age for employment. However, there was soon to be a change in the minimum age from 14 to 15 years. This was also purposefully done to restrict the number of young people taking jobs to ensure that more adults had job opportunities (Rodgers et al., 2009). These minimum ages in addition to the factory and schooling legislations of the industrialized members of the ILO, mainly the European nations, were used as models for the early Conventions of the ILO (Rodgers et al., 2009).

Post World War II. Changes in the political and economic landscape across the world have impacted the structure and activities of the ILO. Following the Second World War, and the dissolution of the League of Nations, the ILO became a specialized agency

of the UN (Maul, 2012). With the wave of decolonization in the decades following the Second World War, the nature of representation in the ILO changed. There was a massive influx of African and Asian countries in the ILO leading to calls for the ILO to implement changes in regards to its outlook and programming (Maul, 2012). However, the composition of the Governing Body is still dominated by European countries. Of the 10 non-elective government seats, five are occupied by European countries, three by Asian countries, and two by countries in the Americas. There is no African country occupying a non-elective seat. The non-elective seats are the seats reserved for countries of prime industrial importance. These countries play an influential role in determining the composition of the government representatives on the Governing Body. They elect 10 of the 28 persons who represent governments on the Governing Body (ILO, 2007).

Furthermore, attitudes and views about children continued to change following the Second World War. Consequently, the ILO moved towards increasing the minimum age to 16 years, and also the use of a common age as the standard in all economic sectors (Lieten, 2010; Rodgers et al., 2009). The creation of Convention C138 also changed the sector by sector approach previously used in setting minimum age standards. There was one single instrument to cover all children in employment or work. Convention C138 explicitly applied to all forms of work and not just employment (Lieten, 2010; Rodgers et al., 2009). The child labor issue continued to receive global attention, and the ILO's Social Summit of 1995 was one of the events that continued to make child labor a topic of importance. Subsequently, a resolution was adopted in 1996 regarding action on child labor. Child labor was also included in the Declaration of Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work in 1998 (Rodgers et al., 2009). All these events culminated in the creation

of Convention C182 in 1999 showing a renewed focus on child labor and a delineation of its many facets and dimensions (Lieten, 2010; Rodgers et al., 2009).

The ILO's dimension of social practice demonstrates that the evolution of the Conventions have been informed by the social and political evolution of the Western world, particularly Europe. Allusions to the Eurocentric character of the ILO are evident. The historical designations of certain countries as the Great Powers, the high contracting parties, and countries of chief industrial importance resulted in the institution of a stratified system that still remains. The attainment of non-elective status is open to all countries based on the size of their industrial capacity and the size of their economy (ILO, 2007). However, for many countries, there are limited chances of attaining that status and position of influence. Despite the changes that have taken place within the ILO, the power bases have not shifted that much, making changes in Western society the litmus test for changes in ILO policy. One therefore wonders whether the current emphasis on child labor would have occurred if the Western views of children and attitudes towards them had not changed.

Institutional Process. The final part of this section is the institutional process involved in the production of the ILO Conventions. Understanding the institutional routines also gets the reader acquainted with other agents and actors in the production process to whom direct or indirect references may not be made in the discourse or texts under study. Additionally, this highlights processes such as systems of control and censorship, and even bureaucratization that can be utilized to further certain ideological goals.

Organs of the ILO and the Drafting of the Conventions. Overall, the ILO has a tripartite structure composed of governments, workers' representatives, and employers' representative. These three groups work together through the organs and institutions of the ILO. The three main organs are the Governing Body, the General Conference, and the Secretariat. The ILO has an established protocol for the creation of the Conventions. There is an ordered and systematic procedure for the generation of the Conventions involving the three main organs of the ILO (ILO, 2006, 2007a).

The Governing Body of the ILO comprising 56 persons, 28 of whom are government representatives, and 14 each representing employers and employees, convenes the meetings where future Conventions are adopted. The Governing Body sets the agenda for those meetings and makes the decision to include items pertaining to the adoption or revision of Conventions. The ILO's General Conference makes the decision on the adoption or revision of Conventions. The General Conference comprises two government representatives from each of the ILO's member countries. The General Conference is also made up of representatives for employers and employees from each of the member countries. Employers from each member country send a representative and so do the employees (ILO, 2006, 2007a; Rodgers et al., 2009).

The ILO's Secretariat, also referred to as the International Labour Office or the Office, which is headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland, oversees the consultations with member countries regarding the form and content of future Conventions. The consultations occur before the Governing Body places the adoption of a Convention on the agenda for the Conference. The Office sends information and details on the subject of proposed Conventions to member countries and solicits their views and feedback. On the

basis of the feedback that is provided, a draft Convention is created or suggested proposals are documented (ILO, 2006, 2007a). Some time is granted for deliberations about the future Convention during sessions of the Conference. A maximum of 19 meetings are available during each session of the Conference for the committees to work on the preparation of the Conventions. An additional 12 hours are available to the drafting committees to work. The Conference sets up a technical committee for this purpose. During this stage, the initial draft or suggested proposals are examined and amended as needed by the technical committee and its draft committee. The technical committee works in conjunction with the draft committee to address any issues or challenges they encounter in the process such as the wording of the document (ILO, 2006, 2007a). The technical committee decides on a final draft which is subsequently forwarded to the Conference. That final draft goes through another stage of development where the Conference's drafting committee transforms it into a definitive text which is then presented to the Conference for adoption (ILO, 2006, 2007a). English and French are the authoritative languages for drafting the ILO standards (ILO, 2006, 2007a).

In preparing the drafts and developing the definitive texts, the committees responsible do so in consideration of the broader context of the ILO's instruments and practices on drafting such instruments. As a result, some constraints may be imposed on the committees because of the need to "preserve the consistency of the instruments as a whole" (ILO, 2006, p. ix). Again, there are some practical and logistical factors that impact the process. For example, though there may sometimes be the need for further discussion about the content of the Conventions, time constraints make it difficult for the Conference to do so (ILO, 2006). Nonetheless, the review of the institutional process

reveals the production of the Conventions is an intricate process, with deliberations and consultations occurring at several levels. The process involves multiple actors - governments, employers and employees/workers – who definitely have varied interests and positions. Therefore, the Conventions can be viewed as products of compromise based on the concerns and interests of the ILO's members (ILO, 2006; Rodgers et al., 2009).

Textual Analysis

This section presents the textual analysis and findings of the ILO Conventions based on the application of Fairclough's (1989) list of questions as discussed in Chapter Four. The analytical tools utilized in the analysis reveal the inherent power of the Conventions, and how they are used to direct and control social practices.

Formal Structure. The presentation of the formal structure of the Conventions is primarily for descriptive purposes, and serves as an introduction of the nature and composition of the Conventions to the reader. This also grants the reader some degree of familiarity with the Conventions. Further, this provides grounds for showing the distinctiveness of the various documents under analysis and also reveals that ideological objectives and hegemonic trends can be conveyed through a variety of forms and structures.

The Conventions are broadly composed of three main parts - the preamble, operative provisions, and final provisions (ILO, 2006). The preamble offers a summary of the purpose of the Conventions and brief background information about its development. The preamble performs other functions such as legitimating the document by giving indication that due process and standard procedure have been observed in its

development. The operative and final provisions which make up the other parts of the Conventions' formal structure have the same form, and are only distinct from each other in terms of their substance. They appear as ordinal *Articles* in the Conventions, setting forth, more specifically, the aims and goals of the Conventions (ILO, 2006). The operative provisions offer more details about the scope of the Conventions including definitions and the explication of technicalities (ILO, 2006). For example, Article 1 of Convention C005 offers a list of activities or work that constitute an *industrial undertaking*, stating that:

For the purpose of this Convention, the term industrial undertaking includes particularly

- (a) mines, quarries and other works for the excerpption of minerals from the earth;
- (b) industries in which articles are manufactured, altered, cleaned, repaired, ornamented, finished, adapted for sale, broken up or demolished, or in which materials are transformed; including shipbuilding, and the generation, transformation, and transmission of electricity and motive power of any kind;
- (c) construction, reconstruction, maintenance, repair, alteration, or demolition of any building, railway, tramway, harbour, dock, pier, canal, inland waterway, road, tunnel, bridge, viaduct, sewer, drain, well, telegraphic or telephonic installation, electrical undertaking, gas work, water work, or other work of construction, as well as the preparation for or laying the foundations of any such work or structure;
- (d) transport of passengers or goods by road or rail or inland waterway, including the handling of goods at docks, quays, wharves, and warehouses, but excluding transport by hand. (Convention C005, Article 1)

The final provisions relate to aspects about the operationalization of the Conventions, such as the procedures for ratification and their expiration (ILO, 2006).

The following excerpt from Article 6 of Convention C123 which states that,

“the formal ratifications of this Convention shall be communicated to the Director-

General of the International Labour Office for registration” is an example of a final provision.

The Conventions are generally methodic and one can easily deduce a pattern in all the Conventions. All the Conventions, after their titles are stated, begin with a preamble then a number of articles which are relatively short statements. The Conventions vary in terms of the number of articles that make up the operative and final provisions. The *Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (C138)* has the highest number of articles with 18 articles, and the *Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (C010)* with 11 articles has the least number of articles. Also, the language and the tense structure for the most part remains unchanged from 1919 to 1999. As regards the preambles, with the exception of the *Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (C182)*, all the other Conventions begin with the same exact phrasing though contents and details such as date and purpose are specific to the time the conference was organized and the ILO’s agenda for that period. The Preambles have the following form:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Geneva by the Governing Body of the
International Labour Office and having met in its [number of the session
in words] Session on [date: day, month, year], and
Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to [the
subject as indicated on the agenda approved by the Governing Body],
which is the [ordinal number of item in words] item on the agenda of the
session, and
Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an
international [form of instrument: Convention or Recommendation],
adopts this [date in words] day of [month and year in words] the following
[Convention or Recommendation], which may be cited as the [short title,
year]. (ILO, 2006, p. 3-4)

Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis. The analysis of the ILO

Conventions revealed that they exhibit some hybridity in terms of the styles and genres

they draw upon. Genre refers to the particular category of discourse a text belongs to or the type of discourse a text is (Fairclough, 1995). Genres are also suggestive of the particular discourses and the network of social practices associated with those discourses (Askehave, 2007; Fairclough, 2003; Yates & Orlikowski, 1992). For example, a text that belongs to the genre of legislation is more likely to focus on legal discourse, and its network of social practices is also likely to be about law or policy making.

The Conventions belong to the genre of (international) government and legislation in that they present legally binding provisions seeking to transform and direct how countries (the ILO member countries) act in regards to the work and employment activities of children. The Conventions also belong to the contract genre because they constitute agreements entered into voluntarily by the ratifying members of the ILO to uphold certain standards and act in ways defined by the ILO. Further, the contractual clauses embedded in the Conventions are elements that make the Conventions instruments of power, authority, and control because they provide the ILO with the mandate to exert demands, per the terms of the Convention in question, of the ratifying members. An indication of the contractual nature of the Conventions is evident in provisions that state after ratification they (the Conventions) can only be denounced after ten years. In other words, the ILO members will be bound by the terms of the Convention they ratify for ten years following which they can denounce it. There are two different ways in which this is phrased in the ILO Conventions (see Table 7). Table 7 presents a list of the ILO conventions and the different ways in which their contractual clauses were phrased.

Table 7: Contractual Clause Indicating Time Frames for the Conventions

| Conventions | Phrasing/Wording |
|--|--|
| Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932 (C033); Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936 (C058); Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937 (C059); Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937 (C060); Minimum Age (Fishermen) Convention, 1959 (C112); Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965 (C123); Minimum Age Convention, 1973 (C138); Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 (C182). | <p>A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered.</p> <p>Each Member which has ratified this Convention and which does not, within the year following the expiration of the period of ten years mentioned in the preceding paragraph, exercise the right of denunciation provided for in this Article, will be bound for another period of ten years and, thereafter, may denounce this Convention at the expiration of each period of ten years under the terms provided in this Article.</p> |
| Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 (C005); Minimum Age (Sea) Convention, 1920 (C007); Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 (C010); Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921 (C015). | A Member which has ratified this Convention may denounce it after the expiration of ten years from the date on which the Convention first comes into force, by an act communicated to the Director-General of the International Labour Office for registration. Such denunciation shall not take effect until one year after the date on which it is registered with the international Labour Office. |

Linguistic Analysis. The linguistic analysis and findings cover various lexical and grammatical features of the Conventions, focusing on the agency of the actors, subjects, and the audience the Conventions are aimed at, and the values – experiential, relational and expressive - associated with the vocabulary and grammatical features.

The Nature of Childhood and the Employment of Children. The purpose of each of the Conventions is the institution of an international framework to regulate the employment of children. In my examination of the Conventions, I observed that some of the provisions used in crafting this framework such as the setting of an age or ages where employment is permissible or acceptable are indicative of an ideological position and view, and therefore possess *experiential value*. As noted by Fairclough (1989), ideological positions and views can be embedded in texts. Article 2 of Convention C005 (Employment in Industry), the first of the Conventions, states that “*children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed.*” Conventions C007 and C010 also state that children under the age of 14 cannot work on vessels and in agriculture, respectively. In Convention C007, this can be found in Article 2 which clearly states that, “*children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels, other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed.*” Similarly, Article 1 of Convention C010 states that:

Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. If they are employed outside the hours of school attendance, the employment shall not be such as to prejudice their attendance at school.

These are some of the indicators that reveal that the Conventions convey a particular idea or view regarding the age or stage when it is permissible or acceptable for children to work as well as the kind of work activities they can engage in. After the revision of Convention C007 (the Convention on Employment at Sea), the revised document, Convention C058, changed the age at which employment is permitted from 14 to 15 years. The “new” provision, found in Article 2 of Convention C058, stated that, *“children under the age of **fifteen years** shall not be employed or work on vessels, other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed.”* The only thing that was changed in this “new” provision was the age.

Likewise, Convention C059, the revised version of C005, also changed the age at which employment is permitted from 14 to 15 years. Convention C138 (Minimum Age Convention) which was established as a singular document to replace all previous Conventions relating to the employment of children maintained the minimum age for employment at 15 years. However, Convention C138 also states that countries with less developed economies and educational facilities can set the minimum age at 14 years. These provisions can be found in Article 2, Paragraphs 3 and 4, of Convention C138:

2. The minimum age specified in pursuance of paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and, in any case, shall not be less than 15 years.
3. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 3 of this Article, a Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed may, after consultation with the organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, initially specify a minimum age of 14 years.

Convention C138 further states that for light work, the minimum age should be between 13 and 15 years. However, for countries with less developed economies and educational

facilities this can be further reduced to 12 and 14 years. These provisions are found in Article 7, paragraphs one, and four of Convention C138:

National laws or regulations may permit the employment or work of persons 13 to 15 years of age on light work...
Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraphs 1 and 2 of this Article, a Member which has availed itself of the provisions of paragraph 4 of Article 2 may, for as long as it continues to do so, substitute the ages 12 and 14 for the ages 13 and 15 in paragraph 1 and the age 14 for the age 15 in paragraph 2 of this Article.

In addition to revealing a particular idea or view of childhood, the above provisions further indicate how the nature of childhood is discursively constructed. The Conventions do not explicitly state that childhood is an employment-free period but they suggest that childhood is a period where only certain forms of employment are to be permitted. They also prescribe the conditions or situations in which children can work. In the case of work or employment on vessels of the stated conditions was that though children below the stipulated age are generally not permitted to work, they can be employed on vessels where *only members of the same* [i.e., their] *family are employed*. Again, these provisions convey a belief or assumption about the ideal age for one to work or start working. From the Conventions themselves, and the textual analysis, it is unclear what informed the choice of these particular ages. Thus, how the ages were determined or chosen is an interesting subject for inquiry. The analysis of the sociocultural dimension offers some insight to address this point.

The analysis of the sociocultural dimension revealed that the age frameworks that were in use in the labor policies of European industries informed the age the frameworks of the early ILO Conventions such as C005 (Rodgers et al., 2009). What this means is that Eurocentric notions of the nature of childhood were transposed into frameworks for

universal application. However, as is evident in the recent ILO Conventions, e.g., C138, recognition of the social and economic realities of different countries has resulted in the establishment of an age-based frame work for employment that is more varied. Hence, the Conventions' discursive construction of the nature of childhood is also based on a country's level of development. So for example, for children in less developed countries aged 12 or 13 years their childhood may include working or being employed whereas for children in developed countries of the same age employment is not supposed to be part of their childhood.

Recontextualizing Child Work and Employment. The examination of the Conventions also revealed certain word choices and phrases that implied a negative evaluation of child work activities. Fairclough (1989) marks words that are used to indicate the judgment or evaluation of a situation or practice as words with *expressive value*. The first ten Conventions use the phrase “*minimum age for the admission of children*” in describing the age limit set for the employment of children. They contain no mention or use of the term child labor. However, in Conventions C138 (Minimum Age Convention) and C182 (Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention), the term “*child labour*” is introduced in the description of the employment and work done by young persons. Convention C138 states explicitly that its replacement of all the previous Conventions from 1919 to 1965 is done “*with a view to achieving the total abolition of child labour*” (Convention C138, Preamble, Paragraph 5).

The introduction of the term “child labour,” essentially, represents a recontextualization of the social practice of child work. This marks the introduction of a concept that categorizes and classifies child work and employment in a particular way

other than what had been presented in the previous Conventions. Child labor, as presented in Convention C138, has a negative connotation. The phrase “*total abolition*” makes this more apparent and further evokes the negativity associated with child labor. Though all the other Conventions, prior to the establishment of Convention C138, were also Minimum Age Conventions, Convention C182 makes a distinction between those Conventions and Convention C138 by stating that “*the Convention and the Recommendation concerning Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, 1973...remain fundamental instruments on child labour*” (Convention C182, Preamble, Paragraph 3). This made the focus on child labor more explicit and pronounced because whereas it may have been backgrounded in the previous Conventions, it is foregrounded in Convention C138, which is the Convention on the Minimum Age for Admission to Employment, 1973. Further, Convention C182 adds another layer to the categorization of child work by introducing the term “*worst forms of child labour*” which it defines as:

- (a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- (b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- (c) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
- (d) Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

The phrase *worst forms* performs an adjectival function in describing particular types of child labor. Additionally, it also performs an evaluative function as it suggests a gradation of various child work and employment practices. The term child labor itself is ideologically contested because of the notions associated with it from different parts of

the world (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Lieten, 2010; Nsamenang, 2008). Child work or employment is a social practice reflective of people's social, cultural, political, and economic views of children. This is also tied to people's idea of what a typical childhood should look like (Chirwa, 1993; Grier, 2004; Lieten, 2010; Nsamenang, 2008). Thus, the recontextualization of child work or employment has some ramifications for what various cultural traditions hold or perceive to be the nature of childhood, and the position presented in Conventions C138 and C182 imply the reification of a particular view and the imposition of a particular set of standards that not only challenge but also seek to replace the plethora of views that exist among ILO member countries.

In addition to the vocabulary, the examination of the Conventions revealed that there were grammatical features with expressive value, indicating the ILO's evaluation of how work or employment could impact the lives of young people and children. The expressive value of grammatical features focuses on how such evaluations or judgments of situations are expressed through grammatical forms. When this is done through the use of modal auxiliaries such as *shall not* or *should not*, it is referred to as expressive modality (Fairclough, 1989). However, regular verb tenses can also be used for the same purposes (Fairclough, 1989).

Convention C010 offers a prime illustration of this point. Article 1 of Convention C010 notes that children less than 14 years may be employed in agriculture. The article also spells out the conditions under which such employment can occur. Article 1 of Convention C010 reads:

Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours fixed for school attendance. If they are employed

outside the hours of school attendance, the employment shall not be such as to prejudice their attendance at school.

Together with the modal auxiliary *shall not*, the use of the infinitive verb *to prejudice* suggests that the employment of children can negatively affect school attendance. This suggests that there is a potentially negative impact of children's employment on their schooling; hence, the institution of the minimum age conventions. Though not stated explicitly that is the proposition conveyed by the expressive modality. Overall, the Conventions hint at a potentially inverse relationship between child work and employment, and schooling. However, all the Conventions contain an article that shows that though minimum age restrictions are being put in place regarding the employment of children of certain ages, the restrictions do not apply if the work being done is for curricular training. This gives the impression that the ILO places a premium on children's academic development and training rather than their involvement or engagement in economic activities. The ILO's position may be informed by assumptions and research findings that indicate that working negatively affects school enrolment and poses a disadvantage to school children (Beegle et al., 2009; Devi & Roy, 2008; Edmonds, 2007; Heady, 2003).

However, the findings on the relationship between child labor or child work and schooling are ambiguous (Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999; Dar et al., 2002; Ray, 2000). Many studies (e.g., Akabayashi & Psacharopoulos, 1999; Beegle et al., 2009; Edmonds, 2007; Heady, 2003; Ray, 2000) indicate that child employment and hours of work tend to have an adverse effect on academic performance. However, studies also reveal that a complex array of factors including family characteristics such as the parents' level of education, the family's economic status, and both tangible and intangible

individual characteristics of students such as their aptitude and interest in school may determine whether children end up in school or engage in child labor (Bezerra et al., 2009; Dar et al., 2002; Kruger, 2007; Ray, 2000). Further, the availability of quality schools is also another factor that influences child employment decisions (Adhvaryu & Nyshadham, 2012; Dar et al., 2002; Edmonds & Pavcnik, 2005; Fors, 2012; Ray, 2000; Saad-Lessler, 2010).

The ILO's assumptions regarding the connection between work and schooling is not based on conclusive empirical support. Yet, that remains a central point for the institution of minimum age standards. The application of Fairclough's three-dimensional framework helps engender an understanding of the factors and reasons for which a particular viewpoint may be reified and promoted despite a lack of strong empirical support, and the preponderance of counter-perspectives.

The Nature of Social and Political Relations. As noted in the analysis of the overall structure, the Conventions are legal and formal documents. This attribute of the Conventions is discernible from the choice and combinations of words used in their development. Some of the markedly formal words and combinations of words are *formal ratification, ratifies, ratifications* and *convened, denounce, and denunciation*. These are words that seem to typify legal documents. This formal characteristic of the Conventions translates into the relationship between the participants and subjects of the Conventions too. This is demonstrated using the excerpt below which is the complete Preamble from Convention C005 is:

The General Conference of the International Labour Organisation,
Having been convened at Washington by the Government of the United
States of America on the 29th day of October 1919, and

Having decided upon the adoption of certain proposals with regard to the "employment of children: minimum age of employment", which is part of the fourth item in the agenda for the Washington meeting of the Conference, and

Having determined that these proposals shall take the form of an international Convention,

adopts the following Convention, which may be cited as the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919, for ratification by the **Members of the International Labour Organisation** in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation. (Convention C005, 1919, Preamble)

In the excerpt above, the participants (in bold) are referenced using titles or official designations. This serves to show that the institution of standards regarding the employment of children or young persons is something that is being done in an official capacity. According to Fairclough (1989), the formality of an occasion requires that social relations be kept formal, and this dictates how language is used. Hence, the ILO's choice of words is purposely done to show that the setting of minimum age and child labor standards is not casual business and also to convey the importance attached to the issue. This is a probable reason for the absence of informal or casual personalizations of the relationship between the participants. This is the case with all the ILO Conventions. What the vocabulary reveals is the formal nature of ILO discourse and the interaction between the participants.

Again, though the Conventions do not have any explicit provisions or statements detailing who the members of the ILO are, the nature of the composition of the ILO's membership is implied in the text. The excerpt below provides some insight into the make-up or composition of the ILO during that period.

Each Member of the International Labour Organisation which ratifies this Convention engages to apply it to its colonies, protectorates and possessions which are not fully self-governing —

- a) except where owing to the local conditions its provisions are inapplicable; or
- (b) subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt its provisions to local conditions.

2. Each Member shall notify to the International Labour Office the action taken in respect to each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing. (Convention C005, 1919, Article 8)

This provision was found in four ILO Conventions from 1919 to 1921: Conventions C005, C007, C015 and C010. From the excerpt, it is evident that the members of the ILO at the time these particular Conventions were created were or had to be independent countries, i.e. countries with complete self-autonomy. The social/sociocultural practice dimension discussed earlier revealed that the members of the ILO during that period included countries like France and Britain who had colonized several territories around the world (Butler, 1934b; Rodgers et al., 2009). Again, it was revealed that they were opposed to the ILO setting standards for their colonies (Rodgers et al., 2009). In view of this, it becomes evident that the provision does not necessarily demonstrate the ILO's power. Rather, this excerpt reveals the power and influence of countries such as France and Britain in shaping ILO discourse. Sections "a" and "b" of the excerpt above show that the extent to which the ILO's standards applied to the colonies was at the discretion of the colonialists. This means that whatever benefits or reliefs the ILO Conventions provided did not readily apply to the colonies.

The excerpt also demonstrates how textual features can have both experiential and relational values (Fairclough, 1989). Some of the words, like *colonies*, *protectorates* and *possessions*, are indicative of social and political relations and at the same time give an indication of the ILO's historical position on colonialism. The words denote a property-

owning, vassal, and dependent relationship between states and territories (Ashcroft et al., 2007).

Also, the use of the phrase *not fully self-governing* can be considered a euphemistic way of referring to people and nations that did not have self-autonomy and the capacity to exercise independent political action. Further, the manner in which the words *colonies*, *protectorates* and *possessions* are used makes them appear to be synonymous. The words, *colonies*, *protectorates* and *possessions*, are also indicative of political status, and a territory or country's designation as either a colony, protectorate or possession was important in determining the rights and privileges accorded its people (Ashcroft et al., 2007; Boahen, 1987).

Further, the relation of synonymy that is established by putting those words together, and also the addition of the phrase *which are not fully self-governing* homogenizes and obscures the experiences of the people who lived under those systems. Though this provision is absent in all the other Conventions after 1921, it helps illustrate that historically the ILO's ideological position on colonization and colonialism by its members was one of acceptance or acquiescence. Additionally, the excerpt reveals how, in times past, international labor standards could be imposed on nations and people who had no direct representation at the ILO and had no voice in creating those standards. Unfortunately, as expounded in postcolonial theory, the asymmetrical power relations have not been consigned to the past; however, the forms and manifestations of these relations in modern times have changed (Ahluwalia, 2010; Ashcroft et al., 2003; Daza & Tuck, 2014).

The examination of the grammatical features of the Conventions revealed there were grammatical features with experiential values illuminating ways in which participants, events, and processes are presented in the Conventions. This analysis revealed the means by which sentence structures may be used to conceal or obscure asymmetrical power relations.

Unlike the experiential value of words which refers to beliefs, knowledge, and ideologies conveyed by particular words or choices of words, the experiential value of grammatical features focuses on how grammatical elements in a language convey and represent events in the world (Fairclough, 1989). Again, the experiential value of grammatical features looks particularly at the people or elements in these events, the processes and participants that dominate and their degree of agency (Fairclough, 1989).

The Conventions employ a variety of sentence structures. The preambles are compound sentences. They are rather long sentences, but that is a common feature of legalese, a system of writing and use of language characteristic of legal documents (Smith, n.d.). Since the Conventions are legal documents, having features of legalese is not unusual. The rather long sentences in the preambles do not necessarily serve any ideological functions. The sentences are also passive sentences. Fairclough (1989) points out that passive sentences especially those that are agentless, i.e., when the initiator of an action is omitted, are some of the means used to obscure responsibility and causality. However, that is not the case with the preambles of the Conventions. Despite the use of passive sentences, agency and causality are not obfuscated. The preambles present the creating of the Conventions as an institutional and structural action by making attributions to the General Conference and the Governing Body. Thus, the establishment

of the Convention is presented as the work of a collective entity and not an individual or just one country. It conveys the idea that there is general involvement and agreement as well as buy-in into the standards for child labor. What makes this observation important is that, the attribution to the General Conference conceals any hierarchical issues, and the domination of certain members or actors in the process. Therefore, it downplays aspects of the process such as the use of Western social constructions as the benchmark for child labor standards.

The ILO's Position and Power in Relation to its Members. The Relational Value of Grammatical Features: Modes and Modality. Further, the modes and modality, which are grammatical features with relational value, and indicators of the positions participants occupy in relation to each other, shed further light on the ILO's power in relation to its members. These grammatical features also revealed more details about the elements that give the Conventions their character as instruments of power and authority. The modes are essential in our understanding of the nature of participants' interactions and relationships. There are three main modes – declarative, imperative and grammatical question. These modes reveal the positions and roles of a speaker or writer in a given context (Fairclough, 1989). For example, the use of the declarative mode positions the speaker or writer as one who is basically conveying or giving information while positioning the one being addressed as a recipient of information. The use of the imperative implies the speaker or writer is requesting or demanding an action from the one being addressed. The addressee in this case is usually acquiescent. Lastly, the grammatical question also shows the making of a request by the speaker. The grammatical question generally positions the addressee as a provider of information.

Despite these things that I have noted above regarding modes, the use and purpose of any kind of mode can be context-specific. They can also be a matter of interpretation and the values interpreters assign to them (Fairclough, 1989). For example, though the imperative mode is typically used to issue commands or give orders, it can also be used to simply offer suggestions. The focus on modes is important, and as Fairclough (1989) asserts, the “systematic asymmetries in the distribution of modes between participants are important per se in terms of participant relations: asking, be it for action or information, is generally a position of power, as too is giving information – except where it has been asked for” (p. 126). In showing the positions and roles of speakers or writers, the modes help uncover power relations which may otherwise not be so apparent.

All the ILO conventions were written in just two modes – declarative and imperative. Thus, they provide information and also demand action on the part of the addressees. The Conventions demand that the addressees, in this case ILO member countries, take certain actions in regard to the employment of children. The Conventions also provide information showing the system that has been put in place and the protocols that have to be observed in carrying out the requested actions. The following excerpt from Article 2 of Convention C138 is an example of a declarative mode:

4. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 3 of this Article, a Member whose economy and educational facilities are insufficiently developed **may**, after consultation with the organisations of employers and workers concerned, where such exist, initially specify a minimum age of 14 years. (Article 2, Sub part 4)

The excerpt above shows the ILO providing information about an alternative line of action that can be taken by the members to whom this particular provision applies. The provision is not an order or a demand for strict adherence to that particular line of action.

That is what makes it a declarative. Regarding positioning, the ILO is in the position of a provider of alternative actions members can resort to in ensuring compliance to the Convention. The members are in the position of receivers of that information. Article 5 of Convention C138 has a similar provision giving additional information about courses of action members can take. Paragraph one of Article 5 states that members lacking the economic and administrative capacity to implement the Convention do not have to apply it entirely. However, there are some conditions attached to that provision in Article 5. The following excerpt from paragraph two of Article 5 (of Convention C138) detailing one of those conditions indicates the use of the imperative mode:

Each Member which avails itself of the provisions of paragraph 1 of this Article **shall** specify, in a declaration appended to its ratification, the branches of economic activity or types of undertakings to which it will apply the provisions of the Convention. (Convention C138, 1973, Article 5, Sub part 2)

This is in the imperative mode because of its obligatory stance. The excerpt above shows an action that is demanded and required of members that decide to use the provision in paragraph one. Again, regarding positioning, the ILO is the one giving the directive with expected compliance from the members. This reinforces the ILO's power, and the power of the Convention in exacting certain demands of the ILO members. In ratifying the Convention, the members make themselves subject to its terms and requirements.

Modality. Modality is closely aligned to the modes, and is also instrumental in demonstrating the relations that exist between the participants or subjects of a discourse. Modality in a text or speech is basically conveyed through the use of modal auxiliaries which include verbs such as shall, should, must and may. Fairclough (1989) states that there are two sides to modality – relational modality and expressive modality. Relational

modality focuses on the authority a writer or speaker possesses, and translates into the authority one participant has relative to other participants. Expressive modality is indicative of a speaker or writer's assessment of reality and estimation of what is true. I discuss and give an example of expressive modality in the Conventions in my discussion of the *expressive values of grammatical features*. In the excerpts used in the analysis of modes, the modal auxiliaries – *may* and *shall* – were used to, respectively, indicate which action is optional and which is obligatory. They are used in establishing the limits and degrees of actions in particular situations. That pattern is evident throughout the Conventions and illustrates how obligations can be imposed on countries. In Article 5 of Convention C005, the following statement, “the provisions in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments *shall be* repealed,” reveals the making of such an imposition on Japan.

Also, in Article 2 of Convention C015 and the other Conventions, sentences such as *Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers*, using the grammatical construction *shall not*, convey the ILO's prohibition against the employment of persons of a particular age. Further, these instances of modality in the Conventions reveal the authority of the Governing Body of the ILO, and the ILO as an institution in setting out particular courses of action for its members to follow. That capacity to proscribe and control the actions of people and countries is something this study sought to understand. As Fairclough (1989) notes “it is precisely implicit authority claims and implicit power relations...that make relational modality a matter of ideological interest” (p. 127).

Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)

Discourse practice analysis can be broadly categorized into two sections – institutional processes and discourse processes (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b). The institutional processes were combined with the social/sociocultural practice dimension as a starting point in presenting the findings. Therefore, this section focuses on discourse processes.

Discourse Process/Intertextuality. Whereas the institutional process refers to the structure and the order of the process involved in production, the discourse process focuses on the elements that are put together to make a text or discourse. Central to this process is the issue of the relations between discursive practices and the complex ways in which the discourses draw upon each other. This is explained by the twin concepts of interdiscursivity and intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992). As previously mentioned, the analysis of discourse process is concerned with the intertextual properties of texts. This entails examining the text under study to determine the degree to which it has incorporated other texts and discourses (Fairclough, 1995a). The previous discussion of intertextuality in the textual analysis section was limited to a brief discussion of genres and styles. In discussing genre and styles, I examined the typology of the documents, and the distinctive characteristics they displayed in structuring their discourse. That was a demonstration of constitutive intertextuality which refers to how the configurations and conventions of other discourses may be constituted within a discourse (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). The discussion of the discourse process of the Conventions examines other aspects of intertextuality.

Manifest Intertextuality. Manifest intertextuality demonstrates ways in which other texts are explicitly referenced or incorporated in the text under analysis. In this case the incorporation of texts may be done through direct quotations or paraphrased attributions or references to another work (Fairclough, 1992; Hill, 2009). In regards to the Conventions, the most apparent instances of this kind of intertextuality are found in Conventions C138 and C182. Fairclough (1992) states that intertextuality may reflect a way in which a document “responds to, accentuates and reworks past texts, and in so doing helps to make history and contributes to wider process of change...” (p. 102). That is how intertextuality features in Conventions C138 and C182. The preamble of C138 makes direct references to all the previous Conventions from 1919 to 1965 and establishes that taking into consideration the “*terms*” of all the previous Conventions a “*general instrument*” is needed on the topic of minimum age for admission to employment. The Preamble of C138 contains a paragraph that says that, “considering that the time has come to establish a general instrument on the subject, which would gradually replace the existing ones applicable to limited economic sectors, with a view to achieving the total abolition of child labour” (Paragraph 5).

Article 10 of C138 also notes that C138

...revises, on the terms set forth in this Article, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919, the Minimum Age (Sea) Convention, 1920, the Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921, the Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921, the Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932, the Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936, the Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937, the Minimum Age (NonIndustrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937, the Minimum Age (Fishermen) Convention, 1959, and the Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965.

This marks C138 off as a text that accentuates the issue the previous Conventions sought to address. Furthermore, C138 reworks the previous Conventions into a new Convention. The issue of child employment is recontextualized and used to show or express concerns regarding child labor. In other words, child labor is problematized. According to Fairclough (1992) , the use of such discursive strategies represents a way in which texts are transformed and used as tools for change (Fairclough, 1992). Convention C182 speaks to the completion of the transformation of the previous Conventions when it states that Convention C138 (Minimum Age Convention for Admission to Employment; 1973) is a fundamental instrument on child labor. The passing of C138 marked the phasing out and retirement of the previous Conventions. However, the process of their phasing out and retirement was gradual. In regards to that, Paragraph 4 of Article 10 of C138 presents a series of provisions that state that the acceptance of C138 and the setting of a minimum age of 15 years for work or employment in the economic sectors covered by the previous Conventions “*shall ipso jure involve the immediate denunciation of that Convention.*”

The intertextuality revealed in Convention C182 offers support and legitimation for the new phase of minimum age conventions and the recontextualization of child employment and child labor. The development of C182 is an action taken as a commitment to, and reinforcement of a position taken by the Conference on child labor. Paragraph 5 of the Preamble of Convention C182 makes this evident in “recalling the resolution concerning the elimination of child labour adopted by the International Labour Conference at its 83rd Session in 1996.”

Again, through intertextuality, a connection between child labor and child rights is foregrounded. This occurs with the direct reference to the UN Convention on the Rights

of the Child in Paragraph 7 of the Preamble of C182 “recalling the Convention on the Rights of the Child adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on 20 November 1989.”

There is further reference to the CRC in a way that demonstrates embedded intertextuality, a case “where one text or discourse type is clearly contained within the matrix of another” (Fairclough, 1992, p.118). Convention C182 provides a definition for who is a child. Article 2 of C182 reads, “*for the purposes of this Convention, the term child shall apply to all persons under age of 18.*” Article 2 of C182 is a slight rephrasing of Article 1 of the CRC which states that, “for the purposes of the present Convention, a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier.” Convention C182 is the first of the Conventions with that provision, i.e., a definition of who is a child. The citing of a UN document bolsters the ILO’s action through legitimation of the ILO’s position on child labor. Most importantly, this instance of intertextuality also serves as an indication of the ILO’s ties and connection to the UN. The connection between the ILO and the UN is further discussed in the social practice section.

Specific references are made to Japan, India, and China in some of the Conventions. There is also the general reference to the colonies, protectorates and possessions of member countries. In the case of Japan, there is reference to a provision in Japanese law in Convention C005 that states that “*the provisions in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments shall be repealed*” (Convention C005, Article 5). Japan is being asked to make changes in its laws regarding the employment of children. This is an example of

intertextuality that shows how Convention C005 is being used to respond to or indicate a reaction to another text, and in a deeper sense the social practice of a particular society. This is demonstrative of the reach and global scale of the ILO's power.

Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence. In reviewing or analyzing how texts incorporate other texts and discourses, it is important to note that there is some variation in the degree to which a text or discourse may be incorporated. According to Fairclough (1995), "any text is a combination of explicit meanings – what is actually said – and implicit meanings – what is left unsaid but taken as presupposed" (p. 106 – 107). Fairclough (1995) adds that the things that are not said are as important as the things that are said and the things that are presupposed in any text or discourse. This is because in some cases "ideologies are generally embedded within the implicit meaning of a text rather than being explicit" (Fairclough, 1995, p.108).

The dichotomy between the presence and absence of discourses within a text is not sharply defined. To indicate the degree of incorporation, Fairclough (1995) presents a scale of the degree of presence: absent – presupposed – backgrounded – foregrounded. Each of the items on the scale may imply something about the nature of social relations and also cue the ideological elements that may be at play within a discourse. For example, making presuppositions may suggest that whatever has been referenced is common knowledge or common ground for consumers of the text. As noted earlier, the first paragraph of the preambles of all the Conventions start with the statement "the General Conference of the International Labour Organisation." The effect of the definite article *the* in that statement presupposes the existence of the General Conference. It is assumed that readers would know what the General Conference is. This makes its

position as a legitimate entity or organ of the ILO unquestionable and helps establish its authoritative position.

The examination of the Conventions also demonstrated that backgrounding and foregrounding were prominently utilized. Backgrounding and foregrounding represent ways in which participants in a discourse or certain parts of a discourse maybe highlighted or understated (Fairclough, 1995). The Conventions were expressly made to apply to all members of the ILO, so why is it that in some of the Conventions, specific mention is made of some countries? In Convention C005 Japan and India are foregrounded. A different set of conditions are created regarding the application of the Convention to Japan and India. This suggests that the two countries are special cases and thus had to be treated differently.

Also, the lack of reference or use of the term child labor in the Conventions from 1919 to 1965 may be indicative of backgrounding. This is because one of the stated objectives of creating the Conventions was to have legal instruments to address child labor yet the term is not used in those early Conventions (Rodgers et al., 2009). As noted above, it is in the Conventions of 1973 and 1999, C138 and C182, respectively that the term “child labour” is overtly used. Thus, it is in the later Conventions that child labor is foregrounded. The backgrounding and foregrounding of child labor may be indicative of changes in attitudes towards the issue of child labor and the political commitment to addressing it (Rodgers et al., 2009). The motive is not perfectly clear. Thus, some scholars and political leaders have questioned this recent emphasis on child labor noting that it may be part of a political strategy to give certain countries an advantage in international trade (Bachmann, 2000). This alludes to the socially-mediated nature of

discourses in that discourses can inform and in turn be informed by social and political events (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995). I also observed that the Conventions did not spell out explicit or definite consequences for members who failed to apply the minimum age and child labor standards.

Conclusion

The analysis of the ILO Conventions revealed that the ILO has a hierarchical structure with the world's highly industrialized nations having considerable influence in determining the composition of ILO organs such as the Governing Body. The review of the social/sociocultural practice dimension of the ILO Conventions also revealed that historically, some of these countries have influenced the ILO's policies and the extent and form of their application (Roger et al., 2009). Despite the changes that have occurred over the decades in the structure and focus of the ILO, and the increased representativeness of the organization, the hierarchical structure still remains. This situation means that ILO practices can still be mediated by the hegemony of the more powerful members.

Furthermore, the ILO presents a particular definition of who is a child, and also postulates what the nature of childhood should be like. Of the 12 minimum age conventions analyzed only one, Convention C182, explicitly defined who is a child. Convention C182's definition of a child as anyone below the age of 18 years is indicative of the ILO's position on who is child and who is not. Further, the analysis of discourse practice revealed that Convention C182's definition of who is a child may be an intertextual reference to the UN's CRC.

From the analysis, it is revealed that childhood is discursively constructed as a period that is partly employment-free or work-free depending on the level of economic development of the child's country. Children, until they have attained certain ages, are not to be involved in work or employment. The determination of the ages is also on the basis of their country's level of economic development.

Regarding the factors that are implied and those that are explicit, there appears to be the assumption that every state has the same institutional infrastructure and power structure to develop and implement the ILO's proposals. There is also the assumption that the family structure is the same across cultures. There is an implied admission that economic and developmental factors impact the conditions for child labor, and governments' response to the issue must take that into account. It is in view of this that different minimum ages are proposed in Conventions C138 and C182. However, the modern Conventions, i.e., C138 and C182, do not suggest the consideration of cultural factors in the promulgation of child labor legislation.

CHAPTER SIX

THE OAU/AU ACRWC, THE ECOWAS RAP, AND THE HARKIN-ENGEL PROTOCOL

In this chapter, I present the analysis and some preliminary discussion of the findings for three policy documents, namely, the Organization of African Unity's (now African Union) (OAU/AU) African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC), the Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) Regional Action Plan (RAP), and the Harkin-Engel Protocol. This chapter therefore has three sections. All the three sections closely follow the format used for the ILO Conventions. Similar to the ILO Conventions, a discussion of the social/sociocultural practice dimension, and the institutional aspect of the discourse practice dimension are used as the starting point following which the textual analysis and the rest of the discourse practice analysis is presented. Each section begins with a brief introductory statement before the analysis proper. A noteworthy point is that each of these documents is unique hence there are some variations in the presentation of the analysis.

THE OAU/AU ACRWC

Introduction

The examination of the ACRWC's social practice dimension covered the origins of the OAU with a focus on its approach to human rights and the rights of children. This examination revealed a shift in the organization's position on human rights, and demonstrated that the focus on child rights is a relatively recent phenomenon in the organization. Most importantly, the analysis produces significant insight on the social

construction of children in the ACRWC, and the discursive strategies at work in the document in relation to child labor legislation.

Social/Sociocultural Practice

Origins of the OAU/AU. The OAU (now AU) was formed on May 25, 1963 by African countries that had gained independence at the time. Though the independent states proposed the idea of establishing a regional organization, they differed on the nature and form of this organization. While some of the states advocated for a federal union, others preferred the adoption of a more confederal approach (Aneme, 2000; Naldi, 1999). A series of conferences in Monrovia, Liberia, in 1961, and Lagos, Nigeria in 1962, culminated in the adoption of the Charter of the OAU in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1963. The core ideal of the OAU at its formation was the liberation of the African continent from colonialism (Aneme, 2000; Naldi, 1999).

The OAU Charter established four primary organs to ensure the organization functioned effectively. These organs included the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHSG), the supreme organ of the OAU with final authority in all matters and complete oversight of the other institutions. The other organs are the Council of Ministers, the General Secretariat, and the Commission of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration. The OAU Charter also established special commissions to enhance regional cooperation and integration. These included the Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Commission and the Economic and Social Commission (Aneme, 2000; Naldi, 1999).

Transition from OAU to AU. In 1999 there were calls for the transformation of the OAU to reflect the changes and current realities of the African continent and the

world at large. The AHSG, at a summit in Libya in 1999, adopted what became known as the Sirte Declaration for the creation of a new organization to replace the OAU (Aneme, 2000). A group of experts from various fields – law, economics and politics – drafted the Constitutive Act for the new organization which was to be named the African Union. The Constitutive Act was adopted in July 2000, in Lome, Togo, and came into force on May 26, 2001. The Constitutive Act of the AU does not accord any of the member states special rights or powers (Aneme, 2000).

Human Rights. The OAU Charter expressly affirms the commitment of the member states to the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Murray, 2004). However, the OAU's interpretation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was focused more on the liberation of the colonized African states and the elimination of apartheid rather than the individual rights of African citizens. So the rights of the state to self-determination took precedence over the individual rights of its citizens (Murray, 2004). With most African states having attained independence by the late 1970s the OAU's focus on human rights began to expand beyond the rights of the state. Thus, in 1981 the OAU adopted the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (ACHPR). The ACHPR came into force in 1986. The OAU's increased attention to human rights was further accentuated with the adoption of the ACRWC in 1990. As further demonstration of its commitment to human rights, the OAU established a human rights court in 1998 to adjudicate human rights issues in the states that had ratified the ACPHR (Hansungule, 2012; Murray, 2004).

The OAU's focus on human rights was preserved even with the transformation of the OAU into the AU. Previous instruments such as the ACRWC which pertain to the

rights and welfare of children have been incorporated into the AU (Kaime, 2009; Peter & Mwalimu, 2012). Further, Article 3(h) of the AU's Constitutive Act states that the AU is committed to promoting and protecting "human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and other relevant human rights instruments." This commitment is reiterated in the Constitutive Act. Article 4(m) of the Constitutive Act also states that the "respect for democratic principles, human rights, the rule of law and good governance" is one of the principles under which the AU will function. In 2003, the AU adopted the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, serving as further indication of its commitment to human rights (Rebouché, 2006). This is also indicative of the evolution of human rights within Africa's foremost regional organization as it marks the shift from the narrow focus that principally tied human rights to the self-determination and liberation of colonized African states to a broader focus on the individual rights of citizens and vulnerable populations (Murray, 2004; Rebouché, 2006).

Concerning child labor, I observed that the AU's Constitutive Act and immediate actions following its formation do not suggest a revision of the OAU's position as contained in the ACRWC. Similar to the OAU, the AU also adopted a broad-based approach to addressing the issues pertaining to the well-being of the African child. Child labor is therefore subsumed under the generic category of the welfare of children. In the AU's Constitutive Act, the Executive Council, a body composed of the foreign ministers and other government officials designated by the member states, is tasked with decision and policy-making on child care. Despite the concerns that may have been raised by some countries regarding certain provisions in the ACRWC such as the definition of who

is a child, the AU has not presented any new provisions relating to child labor or the employment of children. What this means is that the unresolved ideological issues have been carried over from the OAU era and, inadvertently, further entrenched in the AU era (Peter & Mwalimu, 2012). Peter and Mwalimu (2012) assert that “traditionally, in many African societies, the termination of childhood has very little to do with the attainment of any predetermined age but with the physical capacity to perform acts which are normally reserved for adults...” (p. 481). For this reason, they conclude that the Charter’s conception of childhood may conflict with African traditional and cultural views (Peter & Mwalimu, 2012).

Institutional Process. The Assembly of Heads and States and Government (AHSG) is the supreme organ and main decision body of the OAU/AU. The AHSG structures the functions and operations of all the other organs of the OAU/AU. This includes the setting up of committees as it deems fit (Naldi, 1999). In the case of the ACRWC, the AHSG worked in conjunction with a non-governmental organization, the African Network for the Prevention and Protection against Child Abuse and Neglect (ANPPCAN) and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (Kaime, 2009; Murray, 2004). Under the aegis of these three institutions, a committee of experts was set up to draft the ACRWC. According to Murray (2004), the OAU’s acceptance of the committee’s draft of the ACRWC was without much contestation. However, it is important to note that the lack of debate about the adoption of the ACRWC does not mean the OAU/AU member states were in complete agreement with its provisions.

Following the adoption of the ACRWC in 1990, it took almost a decade for it to come into force because it did not obtain the required quota of 15 state ratifications (Lloyd, 2002). Kaime (2009) and Lloyd (2002) argue that this may be because the drafting of the ACRWC was not participatory and inclusive enough. Kaime (2009) posits

that though “it is quite difficult to make any definitive statements regarding the cultural legitimacy of the African Children’s Charter based on the drafting process alone...had the process of drafting the African Children’s Charter been truly participatory, the character of the document itself may well have been different” (p. 174). In view of the above, the point can be made that the limited input or representation of African states, and the UN’s role in developing the draft may have compromised the process.

Textual Analysis

Formal Structure. The ACRWC is made up of two main parts. The first part addresses the rights and responsibilities of children. The second part outlines the setting up of a structure and an institutional procedure for the promotion of the ACRWC through the establishment of a Committee on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. Overall, the ACRWC is made up of 48 articles. Thirty-one of these articles relate specifically to the rights and responsibilities of children. The remaining 17 relate to the work and procedures of the committee covering matters such as the election of officers, eligible candidates, terms of office, and the committee’s mandate (See Appendix A).

Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis. The ACRWC shares some common features with the Conventions. Like the Conventions, the ACRWC belongs to the genre of government and legislation. As a formal and official document it avoids the use of informal language and colloquialisms. Also, similar to the Conventions, the ACRWC has a contractual element binding signatories to a particular line of action and conduct. The contractual element also sets the parameters for adherence to the charter. This is most evident in Article 1 of the charter which states the obligations of the

countries that ratified the charter, and Article 4, a provision that makes the best interest of the child the prime consideration for action.

Article 1 reads:

1. Member States of the Organization of African Unity Parties to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, freedoms and duties enshrined in this Charter and shall undertake to the necessary steps, in accordance with their Constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Charter, to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Charter.
2. Nothing in this Charter shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the realization of the rights and welfare of the child contained in the law of a State Party or in any other international Convention or agreement in force in that State.
3. Any custom, tradition, cultural or religious practice that is inconsistent with the rights, duties and obligations contained in the present Charter shall to the extent of such inconsistency be discouraged.

Article 4, states that:

1. In all actions concerning the child undertaken by any person or authority the best interests of the child shall be the primary consideration.
2. In all judicial or administrative proceedings affecting a child who is capable of communicating his/her own views, and opportunity shall be provided for the views of the child to be heard either directly or through an impartial representative as a party to the proceedings, and those views shall be taken into consideration by the relevant authority in accordance with the provisions of appropriate law.

Linguistic Analysis. The linguistic analysis revealed that the ACRWC has lexical and grammatical features with both expressive and experiential value. Additionally, the analysis demonstrated that the textual and semantic elements cue ideological points. The findings cued by the analysis are specifically presented in the sections below.

The Distinctiveness of the African Child. The ACRWC used certain words and phrases to communicate the distinctiveness of the African child. Thus, those words and phrases will be said to have experiential value in that they are used to convey a particular

belief or view point about the African child (Fairclough, 1989, 1995b). The fourth paragraph of the ACRWC's Preamble states that "*the situation of most African children, remains critical due to the unique factors of their socio-economic, cultural, traditional and developmental circumstances...*" This expresses the idea of a difference between children from different parts of the world with respect to their experiences. The word *African*, functioning as an adjective, is used in making this differentiation between children in Africa and children in other parts of the world. Also, it establishes the purview and intended focus of the ACRWC. The words *socio-economic*, *cultural* and *traditional* and *developmental* are also used in establishing the range or extent of this difference. This idea of African children being different is one of the main reasons for the creation of the ACRWC though other instruments pertaining to child rights and child welfare such as the UN's CRC were already in existence.

Studies have documented the use of biological and genetic factors to differentiate between people groups and promote various political, economic, and social agendas (Eltringham, 2006; Stitzlein, 2009; Webster, 2007). Further, studies continue to document the use of ethnic and racial differences in the planning and delivery of various programs ranging from healthcare delivery to social interventions (Bulatao & Anderson, 2004; Webster, 2007). The OAU/AU uses a similar approach, and articulates the view that African children are different because of the social, economic, and political state of their countries and communities. Thus, through the ACRWC, the OAU/AU promotes an agenda for the harmonious development of African children on the basis of their precarious social and economic conditions.

Article 4 of the ACRWC provides further insight on the ACRWC's view of children in stating that:

In all judicial or administrative proceedings affecting a child who is capable of communicating his/her own views, and opportunity shall be provided for the views of the child to be heard either directly or through an impartial representative as a party to the proceedings, and those views shall be taken into consideration by the relevant authority in accordance with the provisions of appropriate law.

This provision illustrates the positioning of children within a social and political order in which they are valued and deemed to be deserving of respectable treatment. In light of this provision, what comes to the fore is the ACRWC's emphasis on the vulnerability of children and their need of protection and special care while at the same time demonstrating that children are persons of agency, capable of independent action and thought, bearing in mind their level of maturity. The notion of children's capacity for independent action is also conveyed in the following statement from Article 7 which states that, *"every child who is capable of communicating his or her own views shall be assured the rights to express his opinions freely in all matters and to disseminate his opinions subject to such restrictions as are prescribed by laws."* Further, these points, i.e. Articles 4 and 7 serve to explain the guarantees the OAU/AU seeks to put in place and its attendant call on OAU/AU members to ensure the well-being of children.

Distinct Child-rearing Practices. The notion of the African child's distinctiveness is further enhanced with the view of a distinct way of raising children. Paragraphs five and seven (quoted below) of the ACRWC's Preamble convey the idea that there are unique or distinctive practices and beliefs regarding children and child-rearing in Africa, and these ought to be taken into consideration in discussions and applications of notions of rights of the child. This demonstrates that the ACRWC also has

an ideological function and stands as an instrument in defense of a unique African perspective.

Paragraph five of the Preamble states that:

Recognizing that the child occupies a unique and privileged position in the African society and that for the full and harmonious development of his personality, the child should grow up in a family environment in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding.

Paragraph seven continues with the expounding of this view by stating that there is the need to “[take] into consideration the virtues of their [the children’s] cultural heritage, historical background and the values of the African civilization which should inspire and characterize their reflection on the concept of the rights and welfare of the child.”

The “*virtues of their cultural heritage*” in paragraph seven can be taken to signify an expressive value as the word, *virtues*, suggests a positive evaluation (Fairclough, 1989) of the kind of cultural heritage the ACRWC seeks to reference. Further, this also shows the particular context or set of values the ACRWC is referring to when it says how the reflections on the notion of rights should be done, i.e., giving due consideration to the cultural traditions and values of African civilization. Some of the articles of the ACRWC duly indicate the existence of certain practices that cannot be described or considered to be virtuous. For example, Article 21 of the ACRWC is for *Protection Against Harmful Social and Cultural Practices* and contains the following provision prohibiting child marriages:

Child marriage and the betrothal of girls and boys shall be prohibited and effective action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify the minimum age of marriage to be 18 years and make registration of all marriages in an official registry compulsory.

However, it must also be noted that what counts as virtuous is subject to debate and contestation because of variances in the cultural norms and traditional beliefs of the different member countries. Article 21, which prohibits child marriages, is one of the provisions that have been rejected by Egypt and Sudan (African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 2015).

The Power and the Authority of the OAU/AU and the ACRWC. The grammatical examination of the provisions above reveal important details about the profile of the OAU/AU and the ACRWC's power and authority. The modal auxiliary "shall," which is used extensively, is indicative of a relational value as it offers insight on the nature of the relations between the OAU/AU and its members (Fairclough, 1989). The use of "shall" emphasizes the authoritative character of the ACRWC as it reveals the obligations placed on the AU member states. In Article 4, the assertion is made that children "*shall*" be provided with opportunities for the free expression of their views in judicial proceedings. Again, in Article 7 it is asserted that children "*shall*" have the right for the free expression of their opinions. The obligation of the AU members towards children is underscored by a provision in Article 12 of the ACRWC that states that, "States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to fully participate in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity."

Further, in the examination of the grammatical features, the modes used in the ACRWC provided a depiction of the degree of its power and authority. The ACRWC uses declarative and imperative modes to respectively convey information and show the line of action the AU member states are expected to take with regard to the rights and

welfare of African children. However, the way in which these modes are utilized demonstrates a lack of consistency in the force and authoritative nature of the ACRWC. For instance, Article 1, part of the ACRWC's contractual element referenced earlier, states that:

Member States of the Organization of African Unity Parties to the present Charter shall recognize the rights, freedoms and duties enshrined in this Charter and shall undertake to the necessary steps, in accordance with their Constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Charter, to adopt such legislative or other measures as may be necessary to give effect to the provisions of this Charter.

The excerpt above which is an imperative statement reveals the desired course of action the OAU/AU exacts from its members. The OAU/AU requires that its members duly recognize and take steps to guarantee the rights accorded children in the ACRWC. However, it appears the member states are not necessarily bound by the OAU/AU to adopt its provisions. This interpretation is informed by the part of Article 1 (above) that says that the member states shall act “*in accordance with their [own] Constitutional processes and with the provisions of the present Charter.*” This suggests that the OAU/AU does not seek to supplant or circumvent the constitutional processes of its member states. This, in essence, may be indicative of the OAU/AU's respect and recognition of the individuality and sovereignty of its member states. However, it also suggests a lack of definitiveness on the part of the OAU/AU in getting its members to adopt and enforce its provisions.

Further, Article 1 also has a provision that states that, “any custom, tradition, cultural or religious practice that is inconsistent with the rights, duties and obligations contained in the present Charter shall to the extent of such inconsistency be discouraged.”

This other passage also has the value of an imperative and provides information that

certain practices ought to be discouraged. However, the provision does not guarantee the elimination or abolition of those practices that may be inimical to the development of children. If all countries have to do is to “discourage” certain practices, then there is a high probability that such practices may continue.

In discussing the ACRWC’s lack of definitiveness, one needs to recognize the multilateral nature of such instruments, and take into account ongoing debates about how they usurp the democratic rights of states (Keohane, Macedo & Moravcsik, 2009; Tai Wei, 2014). This makes the development of multilateral instruments a rather delicate process in which diplomatic considerations may reign supreme (Keohane et al., 2009). In view of this, the assumption can be made that the ACRWC was strategically structured in a way that will not cause member states to perceive it as a breach of their autonomy as independent states. This may also help explain why even the ILO Conventions appear to be silent on the consequences members who breach the child labor standards will have to face.

Child Labor. The analysis revealed that the ACRWC, unlike the ILO Conventions, the Harkin-Engel Protocol, and the ECOWAS RAP was created to comprehensively cover various aspects of children’s development. Child labor therefore is featured as part of the practices or actions that negatively impact the development of children. Article 15 of the ACRWC presents the OAU/AU’s coverage of child labor. Paragraph one of Article 15 states that, “*every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child’s physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development.*” This is the OAU/AU’s statement of its expectation of its members in regards to child labor.

However, the OAU/AU requires that efforts to implement the provision on child labor will be done “*having regard to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organization’s instruments relating to children*” (Article 15, Paragraph 2). By this statement, the OAU/AU presents the ILO’s instruments as the guide for its members.

Though no particular ILO instrument is mentioned, the OAU/AU’s Article on child labor indicates that the member states shall use the ILO’s provisions in determining the:

- Minimum ages for employment
- Penalties and sanctions that will ensure action is taken on child labor
- Propagation of the information on the harms of child labor
- Conditions and hours of employment

This provision may pass as the OAU/AU’s endorsement of the ILO’s standards on child labor. Further, this also means the OAU/AU contributes to making the ILO’s standards normative, inadvertently dismissing concerns African scholars and policymakers have raised regarding the ILO’s discourse on child labor, particularly, the determination of the minimum ages for employment and the concept of who a child is and what childhood entails (Twum-Danso, 2008). I elaborate on the ACRWC’s ties to the ILO Conventions in the next section.

Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)

The examination of the discourse practice dimension reveals various aspects of the ACRWC’s production demonstrating the dynamics involved and the various elements that make up the ACRWC (Fairclough, 1989). More specifically, the analysis offers

details of documents that were overtly and covertly incorporated in the ACRWC. This also promotes an understanding of the OAU/AU's relations with other institutions.

Discourse Process/Intertextuality. As regards discourse processes, the analysis revealed that the ACRWC makes references to other texts including direct referrals. Thus, there are instances of intertextuality, indications of connections across various documents (Fairclough, 1995). The first instances of intertextuality can be found in the Preamble with references to four different documents:

- Charter of the Organization of African Unity
- African Charter on Human and People's Rights
- OAU's Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child
- United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The intertextual references establish a link between the ACRWC, the OAU/AU, and the UN providing a foundation of legitimacy for the ACRWC. There is an intertextual reference in paragraph three of the ACRWC's Preamble to the OAU's Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child which reads:

Recalling the Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child (AHG/ST.4 Rev.I) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, at its Sixteenth Ordinary Session in Monrovia, Liberia from 17 to 20 July 1979, recognized the need to take appropriate measures to promote and protect the rights and welfare of the African Child.

This is not just a reference to a historical landmark or archival data. Rather, it suggests a historical commitment to the issue of child rights. However, considering that a Declaration adopted in 1979 only came into force after 20 years raises further questions about the nature or state of the OAU's commitment and the commitment of its members to the issue of child rights. Also, as noted earlier, the OAU could not get the minimum of

15 ratifications needed for the ACRWC to come into force which suggests a considerable lack of consensus among the OAU/AU member states on the ACRWC's provisions (Kaime, 2009; Lloyd, 2002).

In Article 15 of the ACRWC, the section that addresses child labor, there is an instance of intertextuality in the form of the general reference that is made to the instruments of the ILO which states that the OAU/AU members should act "having regard to the relevant provisions of the International Labour Organization's instruments relating to children." This presents the ILO's instruments relating to child labor as complementary of the ACRWC and the OAU/AU's efforts to address child labor. This approach however fails to address the ideological inconsistencies and differences between the various instruments. Again, this fails to recognize or address the differences that may exist in settings where these instruments will be applied and those in which they were developed. More so, considering the UN's participation in the ACRWC's production process, this is suggestive of the UN and the ILO's (a specialized agency of the UN) influence in promoting a homogenized framework, and indicative of an undercurrent of hegemony.

Manifest Intertextuality. Article 2 of the ACRWC defines a child as "every human being below the age of 18 years." This is an explicit form of intertextuality in that it is a direct reproduction of part of Article 1 of the UN's CRC which states that "...a child means every human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." Thus, an intertextual connection is established between the UN's CRC as well as the ILO's Convention C182 which uses a similar definition for 'child.' Furthermore, Paragraph 1 of Article 15 of the ACRWC

presents what appears to be the OAU/AU's definition of child labor which states that "every child shall be protected from all forms of economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's physical, mental, spiritual, moral, or social development." This definition is very similar to the definition of the worst forms of child labor in the ILO's Convention C182.

Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence. What is absent in the ACRWC may be the lack of a distinctive or unique African position or view of child work which further buttresses the point of the undercurrent of hegemony. The OAU/AU Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child which is intertextually referenced in the ACRWC also mentioned the need to address child labor. However, it is apparent in that document that the OAU/AU member states held a different view of child labor than what may have prevailed at the time and the view currently espoused in the ACRWC. This is because in relation to child labor, the Declaration avowed that member States will "take effective measures such as the development of simple and appropriate technologies in order to curb unnecessary child labor" (See Appendix H). The phrase "*unnecessary child labor*" is indicative of a delineation of different kinds of child labor, and causes one to question if there is a form of child labor that is necessary or acceptable. The ACRWC does not have this distinction which possibly hints at the OAU/AU's shift in position regarding its view of child labor.

Also, the reservations some countries have expressed about the ACRWC reveal that it may not be representative of the position of all the OAU/AU member states regarding children. For example, Botswana has accepted the ACRWC but does not intend to apply Article 2. This is because Article 2 of the ACRWC defines children as persons

below the age of 18 years contrary to the widely held African beliefs and traditions that use a multiplicity of factors other than years in determining childhood (Murray, 2004). Also, as discussed earlier, Sudan and Egypt have expressed reservations about the ACRWC's provision on child marriages. Additionally, Egypt has expressed reservations about Articles 30, 44, and 45 which respectively relate to granting children of incarcerated women special treatment, communications on matters covered by the ACRWC, and the conduct of investigations into such matters. Mauritania has also expressed reservations about Article 9 which stipulates that freedom of religion and thought conscience should be a right for all children (African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child, 2015). Thus, there seem to be some ideological misalignment and a confounding of the unique African perspective that the ACRWC sought to promote (Kaime, 2009).

Foregrounding. The presence and referencing of global political and economic institutions such as the ILO and the UN may be indicative of external influence and control in how the OAU/AU operates. This may also be indicative of ideological entanglements. Article 44, covering communication on matters contained in the ACRWC, states that:

The Committee (set up to promote adherence to the tenets of the ACRWC) may receive communication, from any person, group or nongovernmental organization recognized by the Organization of African Unity, by a Member State, or the United Nations relating to any matter covered by this Charter.

This provision suggests potential collaborations with the UN. Reference is also made to the UN in the ACRWC's Preamble:

Reaffirming adherence to the principles of the rights and welfare of the child contained in the declaration, conventions and other instruments of

the Organization of African Unity and in the United Nations and in particular the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child....
(ACRWC, Preamble, Paragraph 7)

Concerning the ILO Conventions, as noted earlier, they are presented as a frame of reference for the OAU/AU member states in their development of child labor policies.

Not only do these references make more pronounced the influence of the UN and ILO in the development of the ACRWC, they also grant these organizations a platform for further involvement in the OAU/AU's activities.

Conclusion

The analysis of the ACRWC revealed that the charter's child rights provisions are not fully endorsed by some members of the OAU/AU. This has resulted in a situation of partial acceptance of the charter. The analysis demonstrated that the OAU/AU members had little involvement in the process by which the ACRWC was developed which may have negatively impacted their acceptance of the charter. Again, the analysis revealed the OAU/AU's ties to the UN and the ILO. Further, the analysis demonstrated the ideological imprint of these organizations on the ACRWC through their considerable influence in the content and make-up of the charter.

This influence is evident in the ACRWC's definition of a child which is similar to the definition provided in the UN's CRC and the ILO's Convention C182. The incorporation of elements from the UN and ILO presents the OAU/AU with potential ideological issues, some of which were demonstrated by citing reservations expressed by some OAU/AU member countries.

Through its provisions, the ACRWC articulates a view of childhood as the period before an individual attains the age of 18 years. Additionally, it is a period where the

betrothal and marriage of children is prohibited. Children are also granted autonomy for freedom of religion and thought. They are also deemed to be persons capable of independent and competent action. At the same time, they are also to be viewed as people who are vulnerable and thus require special treatment and attention. However, the premise of the ACRWC creates room for several contradictions. The OAU/AU sought to highlight the uniqueness of African children and the social, cultural and political context of their development as the basis for the ACRWC. However, some of the stipulations of the charter run counter to the cultural traditions of some of the OAU/AU members.

The ECOWAS Regional Action Plan (RAP)

Introduction

The ECOWAS RAP is a policy initiative aimed at addressing child labor, especially WFCL, in the West African sub-region. The RAP covers three thematic areas:

- Creating a conducive environment for the elimination of child labour in all ECOWAS member states.
- Strengthening institutional mechanisms of ECOWAS for monitoring and evaluation.
- Increase knowledge of the dimension and incidence of child labour in the region. (ECOWAS RAP, 2013)

This section presents the analysis and some preliminary discussion of the findings for the ECOWAS RAP based on the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional model. As I explain in the introduction of this chapter, the format for the presentation of the analysis is similar to how I presented the analysis for the ILO Conventions. I start with the social/sociocultural practice dimension and institutional processes following which I move on to the textual analysis then the discourse process.

Social/Sociocultural Practice

ECOWAS was founded in 1975 and comprises 15 African countries namely, Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. The primary reason for its establishment was to facilitate the economic integration of West African countries to spur economic development. Over the years, ECOWAS has had to reorient its focus and functions to address social and political developments in West Africa (Jaye, Garuba & Amadi, 2011; Olonisakin, 2011). Political upheavals in member countries have often necessitated joint military and humanitarian interventions from the other members though such actions were not envisaged to be part of ECOWAS' original role (Jaye et al., 2011; Olonisakin, 2011). Correspondingly, the RAP was developed in response to a social and political situation – the lack of child protection policies and instruments in ECOWAS' policy framework. Though the member states may have had their own independent provisions relating to children within their jurisdictions, ECOWAS as a body did not have an official position or provision relating to children, especially on the issue of child labor (ECOWAS RAP, 2013; Jaye et al., 2011; ILO, 2012).

The ECOWAS Treaty of 1975, also referred to as the Treaty of Lagos, had no provisions specifically relating to the welfare of children. Neither did the revised ECOWAS Treaty of 1993 (ILO, 2012). Consequently, the adoption of the RAP was part of efforts aimed at giving the needed attention to issues affecting children and establishing adequate provisions for them. To address the deficiency in its treaties, ECOWAS created a Child Policy in 2009 to give representation to children. The Child

Policy highlighted some of the pertinent issues affecting children such as child labor, and had the goal of eliminating child labor, especially its worst forms, within a short period of time. This goal stimulated the creation of the RAP to coordinate and strengthen the efforts of ECOWAS member states in dealing with child labor (Jaye et al., 2011; ILO, 2012). The rationale for the RAP is conveyed in this excerpt:

The current ECOWAS Regional Action Plan for the Elimination of Child Labour aims at ensuring that children are shielded from activities that are detrimental to their physical, social or psychological well-being. The ECOWAS Regional Action Plan is necessitated by the need for a coherent framework for the coordination of activities to eliminate child labour at regional and national levels and to strengthen coordination systems, build capacities and ensure an effective monitoring and evaluation and peer review system for responding to the malaise of child labour. (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 1)

There has been increasing pressure on countries in West Africa to improve the lives and living conditions of children in the region. Over 70% of ECOWAS' members are noted to be least developed countries. Eleven of the 15 members of ECOWAS, with the exception of Ghana, Cote D'Ivoire, Nigeria and Cape Verde, have some of the worst Human Development Index ratings globally. Furthermore, 60% of West Africans live on less than \$1 a day. Widespread poverty is generally cited as the major reason child labor is endemic in the region (ILO, 2012). Global media organizations such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), Cable News Network (CNN) and Aljazeera have broadcasted these issues. An effect of these reports is that ECOWAS' deficiencies were highlighted. Accordingly, the absence of policies or provisions dedicated to promoting child welfare portrayed ECOWAS in a negative light and provided the impetus for the institution of the RAP (ILO, 2012).

The RAP was developed collaboratively by the ILO and ECOWAS. A team of experts from the ILO and ECOWAS and other principal stakeholders met in Abuja, Nigeria in May 2012 to deliberate on policy recommendations that will be effective in addressing child labor in the West African sub-region. The recommendations were subsequently discussed at a special meeting of the ILO's International Labour Conference in Geneva, Switzerland with the labor ministers of ECOWAS states as well as representatives of workers and employers in attendance (ILO, n.d.c).

Textual Analysis

Formal Structure. The document can be broadly divided into two sections: the background and context of the child labor issue, and ECOWAS' proposed strategy for the elimination of WFCL in West Africa. The first part provides statistical evidence for the incidence of child labor with particular attention to developments in Sub-Saharan Africa:

The 2010 ILO Global Report on child labour, for the period of 2004 to 2008, indicates that globally child labour has decreased from 222 million to 215 million amongst children aged between 5 and 17 years old... However, regional analysis of the Global trends indicated that in Sub-Saharan Africa child labour figures increased rather than decreased from 49 million to 58 million in the same period. In 2008, a quarter of Sub-Saharan children aged 5 – 14 years (52.2 million) were engaged in activities defined as child labour, including 26 million in hazardous child labour, an indication of the high incidence of WFCL. (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 2)

The presentation of the statistical evidence demonstrates the use of a technique referred to as foregrounding (further discussed under the discourse practice section) to establish the rationale for ECOWAS' actions to address child labor. Thus, the first part creates the basis for the second part – the proposed strategy by ECOWAS.

Textual Structure and Intertextual Analysis. The ECOWAS RAP belongs to the genre of government documents but it does not have the legislative character or form

of the ILO Conventions and the OAU/AU's ACRWC. A more detailed discussion of these aspects of the ECOWAS RAP is provided in the Discourse Practice section.

Linguistic Analysis. The immediate section below presents findings related to the textual and grammatical features of the ECOWAS RAP. Similar to the findings discussed above, the ECOWAS' RAP's linguistic analysis offer insight about the views of children and childhood underlying ECOWAS' discourse on child labor. Those views, and ECOWAS' position on child labor, are detailed below.

Views and Beliefs about Children. Certain word choices in the ECOWAS RAP were characterized by experiential value in that they conveyed ECOWAS' beliefs and orientation regarding who is considered a child (Fairclough, 1989). The RAP notes that "ECOWAS undertakes special measures for the protection of one of its most valuable resources, namely its children and effectively, its future" (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 1). The portrayal of children as a valuable resource reveals the value ECOWAS ascribes to them. Again, the collocation valuable resource emphasizes the value these children possess and their importance. The word future is also used idiomatically to indicate that the children represent the prospects of ECOWAS and the West African Sub-Region as a whole. The ECOWAS RAP articulates and promotes a particular construction of children as people with inherent worth, capable of transforming their societies. This therefore makes their protection a necessity in order to preserve their value and ensure that optimum benefits are gained from them. These optimum benefits that can be gained from children are tied to their growth and development. However, as presented in the ECOWAS RAP, factors such as child labor pose an impediment to their development. The ECOWAS RAP thus notes that:

There are several limiting factors to the enjoyment of the full and unabridged rights to life, development and growth into responsible and profitable adulthood faced by children in West Africa; one such factor is the involvement of children in child labour, and its worst forms especially. (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 1)

Beyond the choice of words, the analysis of the sentence structures revealed that the attributions of agency and causation regarding children's involvement in child labor were sometimes unclear. For example, in the immediate excerpt above, it is unclear who is responsible for getting the children involved in child labor. In other instances, attributions of the factors responsible for child labor were made explicit as demonstrated by the following excerpt:

The prevalence of child labour and its worst forms in West Africa is attributable to many factors, including the problems of widespread poverty and the use of coping measures by families to augment household income...conflicts and political instability...natural and man-made disasters...by a generally weak protective environment for the child...traditional beliefs and practices, large family size, the impact of HIV/AIDS (creating orphans and exacerbating vulnerability). (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 2- 3)

However, in both instances – the instance where causality is clear and the instance where causality is unclear – the ECOWAS RAP places children in a position of passivity. Children are portrayed as victims of an ominous practice. The agency of children in the prevalence of child labor is de-emphasized. This results in an inaccurate portrayal of the child labor phenomenon, particularly how children impact and are impacted by the situation. These views and evaluation of the child labor issue informed the development of the ECOWAS RAP, and the choice of documents that were incorporated in making the RAP. The next section presents the analysis of the RAP's development process.

Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)

As noted earlier, the ECOWAS RAP was developed by a team of experts from ECOWAS and the ILO. This section primarily discusses the elements and discourses incorporated in the making of the RAP. The section also includes a discussion of the RAP's discursive strategies.

Discourse Process/Intertextuality. Several documents are extensively referenced and incorporated in the ECOWAS RAP implicitly and explicitly which means there is both constitutive and manifest intertextuality (Fairclough, 1995). Constitutive intertextuality addresses the genre and style adopted in the creation of the RAP while manifest intertextuality refers to the discourses and texts directly referenced or quoted in RAP's child labor discourse (Fairclough, 1995).

Constitutive Intertextuality. The RAP can generally be noted as a document that belongs to the genre of government considering its designation as a document of the ECOWAS. However, the RAP is not an instrument of legislation. It does not institute a law per se. There is no legally binding provision on the ECOWAS member states. The RAP is more of a policy initiative intended to address child labor. Further, it appears to be more of a government white paper in that it presents information on, and also states, ECOWAS' position about the issue of child labor.

White papers have their origins in the British parliamentary system where they were originally used to convey information about government policies and provide concise reports to legislators (Doerr, 1974; Willerton, 2013). Within the domain of government they have also been used as part of consultative processes between public institutions to inform and direct government action (Doerr, 1974; Willerton, 2013). White

papers have evolved and are now adopted for a variety of purposes such as presenting research and development information. They are also used as marketing and promotional tools by various institutions such as business and marketing organizations (McPherson, 2010; Willerton, 2013).

The RAP is used in a similar way. There are elements of marketization in the RAP. This is evident in the language it uses, and the way in which it tries to persuade ECOWAS' member states to take action to promote the welfare of children. As noted above, children are considered “*valuable resources*” and the “*future*” of the West African sub-region (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 1). The use of those terms emphasizes the value and worth of children and the prospective benefits they present to their communities if their development into healthy adulthood is supported. Furthermore, ECOWAS does not sanction or endorse a hardline approach in getting its members to initiate action on child labor. Rather, ECOWAS' intended approach includes “lobbying with the countries who have not yet ratified the ILO Conventions on child labour and convincing them to ratify the Conventions” and “influencing and providing technical support to Member States for making legislation that domesticates all the Conventions” (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 9).

Manifest Intertextuality. There is the direct reproduction of the UN's CRC, the OAU/AU's ACRWC, and ILO Conventions C138 and C182 in the ECOWAS RAP. The definition of ‘child’ contained in the RAP is taken from ECOWAS' child policy. That RAP notes that its definition of “... a child as a person below 18 years [is] in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child (UNCRC) and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child [ACRWC]” (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 4). Further, the RAP defines child labor as “work undertaken by children under the minimum

working age as stipulated in national legislation in accordance with ILO Convention No. 138 and the African Charter on the Welfare and Rights of the Child” (ECOWAS RAP, 2013, p. 4).

Similarly, the definition of WFCL in the RAP is based on the ILO’s Convention C182 which states that:

- a) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery such as sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory use on children in armed conflicts.
- b) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances.
- c) The use, procuring or offering a child for illicit activities particularly in the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in international treaties.
- d) Work which, by its very nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

Considering that the ILO played a role in the creation of the RAP, the incorporation of the above mentioned texts reveals the continued efforts to homogenize child labor standards. Again, the ILO and UN are listed as part of the agencies responsible for actualizing the goals of the RAP (See the “Log-Frame of Activities” of the ECOWAS RAP) (ECOWAS RAP, 2013). As implementing agents of the RAP, the ILO and the UN are inadvertently granted the leverage to influence child labor discourse and policy within West Africa. This also demonstrates how the views and practices of certain societies and groups can be uncritically endorsed or accepted through discursive practices thereby helping create hegemonies.

Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence: Foregrounding.

In view of the above it is apparent that the ILO is strongly foregrounded in the ECOWAS RAP. As alluded to already, this may indicative of the ILO’s dominance in the determination of child labor standards across the globe. It is important to note that

foregrounding does not occur with the mere referencing or incorporation of a text or discourse. Especially, considering that though the ACRWC is incorporated in the ECOWAS RAP, it is in the ILO's Conventions that the ECOWAS RAP is fundamentally anchored.

Absence. Though specific and repeated mention is made about the member countries, and their expected role in achieving the objective of eliminating WFCL by 2015, it is interesting to note that the ECOWAS RAP does not integrate discourses on children and child welfare from each individual country. That absence may amount to a denial that such discourses exist. This absence may allow for the uncontested reign of Eurocentric and Western constructions of children. Also, this can serve as a demonstration of the failure of policymakers to accurately capture the sociological realities of their constituents. Potential political and economic factors can also not be ignored. In that vein, this situation unfortunately makes the ILO's role in the drafting and development of the RAP suspect. In regards to this issue, several questions could be raised. One such question is, is there a reason to believe the ILO would object to the inclusion or consideration of discourses that challenge its position on child labor?

Conclusion

The ILOs collaboration and partnership with ECOWAS suggests a recognition of ECOWAS' potential as a resource for enhancing the effectiveness of the ILO Conventions and strengthening the implementation of anti-child labor policies. In the RAP, the ILO's Conventions, the OAU/AU's ACRWC and the UN's CRC are merged. Thus, the discursive construction of a child and childhood found in the ECOWAS RAP is basically a reproduction of the ILO Conventions, the OAU/AU's ACRWC, and the UN's

CRC definitions of a child and childhood. However, this suggests the influence and dominance of the ILO, and the creation of a hegemony of some sort. As a specialized agency of the UN, the ILO's instruments share a common ideological base with the UN's instruments such as the CRC. Moreover, the OAU/AU's ACRWC was developed in conjunction with the ILO and thus, its child labor provisions are reflective of the ILO's standards. Therefore, it can be argued that the RAP promotes a discourse of child labor sanctioned by the ILO which may be suggestive of the use of ECOWAS as an ideological appendage of the ILO.

The Harkin-Engel Protocol

Introduction

Beginning with the sociocultural context, results of the analysis based on the application of Fairclough's three-dimensional CDA approach to the Harkin-Engel Protocol are presented below. This section details the context and circumstances surrounding the creation of the Harkin-Engel Protocol, an elucidation of the more technical features of the Protocol and how they impact the dynamics of child labor discourse and policies.

Social/Sociocultural Practice

The Harkin-Engel Protocol (also referred to as the Protocol in this paper) was based on an initiative by US Representative Eliot Engel and Senator Tom Harkin. This was an alternative line of action taken after a proposed amendment to an agriculture bill was opposed by cocoa and chocolate companies (Zensius, 2012). That amendment would have required cocoa and chocolate companies to attach labels to their products indicating that child slave labor was not used. Instead of having a government-based legislation, the

cocoa industry resolved to address the problem itself, hence the development of the Harkin-Engel Protocol. This was a compromise and negotiated settlement between US representatives and cocoa and chocolate companies (Zensius, 2012). According to Congressman Engel, “industry at that time was very, very hostile...they initially were very hostile; they fought us, they tried to dissuade us. And then I think when they saw we were sticking to our guns, they suddenly decided to cooperate” (Frank, n.d.).

The terms of the compromise are reflected in the structure of the Protocol. The first part, the *Guiding Principles*, are propositions that were made to the chocolate companies. However, those propositions are mostly stated as imperatives through the use of modal auxiliaries (this grammatical feature is further discussed in the textual analysis section) thereby prescribing how the cocoa industry works to resolve the issue (Zensius, 2012). For example, the *Guiding Principles* state that, “in fashioning a long-term solution, the problem-solving process should involve the major stakeholders... [The *Guiding Principles* also state that] a multi-sectoral infrastructure, including but independent of the industry, should be created to develop the action plan expeditiously” (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001, *Guiding Principles*).

The second part of the Protocol, *Key Action Plan and Steps to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labor* reveals what the cocoa and chocolate companies committed to. These are centered on a six-point approach (further discussed in the textual analysis section) which includes the public acknowledgment of the child labor problem in the cocoa sector and the formation of multi-sectoral advisory and consultative groups (Harkin-Engel, 2001). The Protocol concludes with a statement by Larry Graham and William Guyton, the respective heads of the Chocolate Manufacturers Association and

the World Cocoa Foundation expressing their commitment to the Protocol. Their statement reads:

We, the undersigned, as of September 19, 2001 and henceforth, commit the Chocolate Manufacturers Association, the World Cocoa Foundation, and all of our members wholeheartedly to work with the other major stakeholders, to fulfill the letter and spirit of this Protocol, and to do so in accordance with the deadlines prescribed herein. (Harkin-Engel, 2001)

In view of the above, it is important to note that the Protocol was developed in the context of social and political pressure on the cocoa and chocolate companies. Again, it is important to note that media reportage of child labor in the cocoa sector had increased awareness and heightened people's sensitivity to the issue of child labor. This is partly demonstrated by the following background detail provided by Congressman Engel in an interview on National Public Radio (NPR). According to Congressman Engel:

It was called to [his] attention that child slave labor was being used primarily on the Ivory Coast in West Africa to work on the farms and pick the cocoa beans, carry the bags and use pesticides. And I was appalled. Upon hearing about it, I checked it out and found it was true. And I introduced at that time an amendment on the House floor in an agriculture appropriations bill to require the looking into and the perhaps labeling of all chocolate to certify that it has not been processed using child slave labor. (Frank, n.d.)

Also, this piece of information sheds some light on the history of the Harkin-Engel Protocol. This reveals that prior to the development of the Harkin-Engel Protocol, Congressman Engel, in his own official capacity, had taken the initiative to have the use of child labor in the cocoa sector addressed. Interestingly, such details are generally not presented in the official policy documents. Yet, they form part of the background information that can lend significant insight on the policy development process. This also underscores the importance of interviews with policy makers and participants of the

policy-making process as a way of gaining rich information for a more accurate understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Questions that can be raised in regard to Congressman Engel's statement include what the source of his information was, and how he conducted checks to ascertain the veracity of the information. The agentless passive, "*it was called to [his] attention...*" obscures the actual source of the information. Further, the statement brings up other questions and points that are worth exploring. For example, how does child slave labor differ from child labor? There are also important considerations regarding the power dynamics at play especially considering how the Harkin-Engel Protocol, a product of his efforts to address child slave labor, has gained traction and legitimation. I find it interesting that attempts were made in the legislative chamber of one country to develop a policy to address child slave labor in another region of the world. This raises questions about global power differentials. Can West African legislators make similar policy initiatives for application in the United States? The section that follows presents further analysis of the lexical and grammatical features of the Harkin-Engel Protocol.

Textual Analysis

Formal Structure. The Harkin-Engel Protocol has five main parts:

- Guiding principles
- Key action plan and steps to eliminate the worst forms of child labor (also referred to as key action plan in this paper)
- Witnesses
- Attachment of ILO Convention C182
- Declaration of support by heads of cocoa and chocolate companies.

The findings presented below are based on the analysis of these five sections. The *Guiding Principles* section which outlines the purpose and objective of the protocol states that “cocoa beans and their derivative products should be grown and processed in a manner that complies with International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor” (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001, Guiding Principles, Objective). This section also identifies “the major stakeholders” essential to the attainment of the objective, and spells out how they should work. It is noted that achieving the above mentioned purpose will occur “only through partnership among the major stakeholders: governments, global industry (comprised of major manufacturers of cocoa and chocolate products as well as other, major cocoa users), cocoa producers, organized labor, non-governmental organizations and consumers” (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001, Guiding Principles, Responsibility).

The second part, *Key Action Plan and Steps to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour*, provides a six-point approach on how the objective will be realized. These steps are as follows:

- Public statement of need for and terms of an action plan
- Formation of multi-sectoral advisory groups - By October 1, 2001
- Signed joint statement on child labor to be witnessed at the ILO- By December 1, 2001
- Memorandum of cooperation- By May 1, 2002
- Establishment of joint foundation- By July 1, 2002
- Building toward credible standards

The part on *Witnesses* presents the names and official designations and affiliations of individuals who witnessed the creation of the Protocol.

Linguistic Analysis. Analysis of the text using Fairclough's list of questions (1989) revealed particular word and grammatical choices signifying various values and characteristics such as the evaluation of the child labor situation by the originators of the Protocol, the roles and responsibilities assigned to the parties involved, and the power dynamics involved. These findings are outlined below.

Evaluation of Child Labor. Child labor in the cocoa industry is judged to be a "serious problem." The use of these words reveals a judgment and evaluation of the child labor situation in the cocoa sector in West Africa. The word "problem" already suggests a difficult or worrying situation (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). With the addition of "serious," the collocation "serious problem" suggests that the situation is extremely worrying. This could also be explained to mean it is not a problem that can be addressed easily. This evaluation of the incidence of child labor helps explain the actions and steps the Protocol initiated. The Protocol's evaluation and assessment of the child labor situation, which is further discussed below, and its efforts to address the issue provides a hint about the Protocol's position on the nature of childhood. The Protocol implies that childhood should be devoid of such forms of child labor.

It is also important to note that the Harkin-Engel Protocol mentions a particular kind or type of child labor, namely, *forced child labor*. Further, the Protocol demonstrates that forced child labor is synonymous with the *worst forms of child labor*. This is evident in the excerpt below:

Industry has publicly acknowledged the problem of forced child labor in West Africa and will continue to commit significant resources to address

it. West African nations also have acknowledged the problem and have taken steps under their own laws to stop the practice. More is needed because, while the scope of the problem is uncertain, the occurrence of the worst forms of child labor in the growing and processing of cocoa beans and their derivative products is simply unacceptable. Industry will reiterate its acknowledgment of the problem and in a highly-public way will commit itself to this protocol. (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001, Public Statement of Need for and Terms of an Action Plan)

The word *forced*, and the phrase, *worst forms of* perform an adjectival function in describing the type of child labor the Protocol is referring to. The use of these words is likely to evoke the images of degradation, deprivation, misery, and pain often associated with child labor (Smolin, 1999). These are used in building a case for the Protocol's evaluation of the child labor situation as *simply unacceptable*. Further, the excerpt lends insight on how the Protocol legitimates its position. First, the *problem of forced child labor in West Africa* is generally stated, harkening back to the pervasiveness of child labor in Sub-Saharan Africa reported by the ILO (Diallo et al., 2010; Diallo et al., 2013).

Further, it is noted that there is a consensus between two groups of stakeholders, namely, the chocolate and cocoa industry and West African nations, that it is a problem, and an issue of concern. It is then implied that the actions taken by the West African nations have been inadequate hence more needs to be done, and that responsibility is placed on the cocoa and chocolate industry. Indirectly, the cocoa and chocolate industry is implicated in the incidence of the worst forms of child labor in the cocoa sector. Hence, the point being made is that they have to complement the actions of the West African nations to address the problem. Also, the structuring of the excerpt above may create the impression that the incidence of worst forms of child labor in the cocoa sector is a West Africa-wide problem, thereby, bolstering support for the Protocol. However, that is not the case. The actual focus of the Protocol was on Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast),

the predominant cocoa growing countries in West Africa (Payson Center for International Development, 2011).

Grammatical Features: Evaluation of Cocoa-growing Practices. Focusing more specifically on the grammatical features, the objective of the Protocol also reveals an evaluation of cocoa growing practices. The statement, “*Cocoa beans and their derivative products should be grown and processed in a manner that complies with International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention 182 Concerning the Prohibition and Immediate Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor*” presupposes that the growing and processing of cocoa does not conform to ILO standards (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001). Further, the use of the modal auxiliary *should* in the statement above, a demonstration of modality, implies that adherence to the ILO’s Convention C182 in the growing and processing of cocoa is obligatory. This promotes the conventionalizing of C182, while disregarding the cultural, economic, and political implications for the communities to which they are applied. As noted previously, the construct of children and childhood on which the ILO Conventions are based differ from some of the societies to which they are applied. Again, as demonstrated in the analyses of the social/socio-cultural practice and discourse practice dimensions for the ILO Conventions, there is the issue of power imbalances in that many communities and societies were not adequately represented in the creation of the Conventions.

Prescriptions for Actions to Address WFCL. There is further use of modal auxiliaries to accentuate the Protocol’s proposed line of action for addressing WFCL in the cocoa sector. Under the *Guiding Principles*, the Protocol makes the statement that attainment of the aforementioned objective “*is possible only through partnership among*

the major stakeholders...” (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001). This is a truth claim stated rather matter-of-factly. However, the basis or source of this claim remains unclear. Also, this position is of ideological interest because “*only through partnership*” suggests there is no alternative means or line of action thus making it more compelling for actions to address the child labor problem to take one particular course or approach. The Protocol states that to ensure the problem-solving mechanism or approach is credible and effective, it “*should involve the major stakeholders.*” The Protocol also states that “*the ILO must have a ‘seat at the table’ and an active role in assessing, monitoring, reporting on, and remedying the worst forms of child labor...*” (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001). The use of *must* suggests or shows the inclusion or involvement of the ILO is a matter of necessity. So though the ILO’s inclusion has not been foisted on the rest of the parties involved in creating the Protocol, the use of *must* shows a strong recommendation is being made. The modal auxiliary *should* is used in a similar way showing that involvement of the major stakeholders is necessary, possibly, to assure the credibility and success of the measures that will be adopted. The Protocol, through such means, proposes a model for the action steps. In the *Key Action Plan and Steps to Eliminate the Worst Forms of Child Labour* segment, the commitment to undertake the steps needed to ensure the success of the Protocol is conveyed through the use of the modal auxiliary *will*.

The examination of the social practice dimension (presented above), and the discourse practice dimension, further details of which are presented below, revealed the Protocol was jointly developed by people in the cocoa and chocolate industry and people in government, particularly the US legislature. Knowing that is key to understanding the function of the modal auxiliaries. In view of this, the use of *will* appears to be indicative

of a voluntary commitment and action on the part of the chocolate and cocoa industry. However, it is also possible that they may have taken that stance because of the political pressure brought upon them by the US legislature.

Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)

An analysis of the production process was also conducted to identify elements incorporated in the development of the Protocol. These findings cover the two main aspects of intertextuality: constitutive intertextuality and manifest intertextuality. The findings also reveal the Protocol's point of focus and emphasis through the technique of foregrounding. These findings are used to demonstrate the ideological and hegemonic cues, and implications of the Protocol.

Discourse Process/Intertextuality. The constituent parts of the Harkin-Engel Protocol were largely drawn from ILO Convention C182 to which explicit reference is made. Additionally, there are other literary/documentary experiences and conventions that impacted the development of the Protocol. Intertextuality relates to the constituent parts and the influences that are drawn upon in developing a text or constructing discourse (Fairclough, 1995). The manner in which this is done, and the degree to which elements are incorporated are demonstrated below.

Constitutive Intertextuality. Regarding its constitutive intertextuality, which focuses on the genre and style of a discourse (Fairclough, 1995), the Harkin-Engel Protocol fits the genre of government. To be more precise it fits the genre of white papers. As is common with government white papers which are often used to outline government proposals and desired courses of action in various matters (Willerton, 2013), the Protocol presents proposals and steps for actions to address child labor. Again, the

Protocol is like a regulatory policy instrument in that it provides measures for the control of child labor. However, it is not legally binding though one of its provisions states that a memorandum of cooperation between the major stakeholders shall be binding. The Protocol is a voluntary agreement taken by the Chocolate Manufacturers Association and the World Cocoa Foundation with significant input from people in government and witnessed by persons with both government and non-governmental affiliations. Therefore, it can be concluded that the Protocol has a multilateral character. The multinational nature of the companies and institutions involved in the development of the Protocol adds to its multilateral character.

Manifest Intertextuality. The referencing of the ILO's Convention C182 is the most apparent instance of intertextuality in the Harkin-Engel Protocol. The degree of incorporation is cued in the Protocol's title and also evident in its objective, previously quoted above. The full title of the Protocol is, "*Protocol For The Growing And Processing Of Cocoa Beans And Their Derivative Products In A Manner That Complies With ILO Convention 182 Concerning The Prohibition And Immediate Action For The Elimination Of The Worst Forms Of Child Labor.*"

In addition to direct and specific references, Convention C182 is further incorporated in the Protocol by being reproduced in full as an attachment. This is denoted in the Protocol's objective: *ILO Convention 182 is attached hereto and incorporated herein by reference* (Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001). What the title and objective of the Protocol reveal is that the Convention (C182) is the basis for the actions outlined in the Protocol.

Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence: Foregrounding.

Though the Protocol relates to child labor, it specifically foregrounds WFCL and the cocoa sector thereby revealing its specific focus. This foregrounding is achieved through the exclusive references to the ILO Convention C182, as is evident in the title and objective referenced above. Convention C182 was created to specifically address WFCL. Additionally, West Africa is established as the geographic focus of the Protocol. It is the geographic region mentioned as the site of the worst forms of child labor in cocoa production and processing. Under the *Key Action Plan* segment, it is noted that the “*industry has publicly acknowledged the problem of forced child labor in West Africa...West African nations also have acknowledged the problem and have taken steps under their own laws to stop the practice*” (Harkin-Engel, 2001).

The Protocol is time-bound. Certain dates are included, indicating when particular actions will be taken as part of the *Key Action Plan*. (See Table 8).

Table 8: Time-bound Key Action Plan Steps of the Harkin-Engel Protocol

| | | |
|--------|--|-------------------|
| Step 2 | Formation of Multi-Sectoral Advisory Groups | October 1, 2001 |
| Step 3 | Signed Joint Statement on Child Labor to Be Witnessed at the ILO | December 1, 2001 |
| Step 4 | Memorandum of Cooperation | May 1, 2002 |
| Step 5 | Establishment of Joint Foundation | July 1, 2002 |
| Step 6 | Conducting baseline-investigative surveys of child labor practices in West Africa. | December 31, 2001 |

(Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001).

These time-bound features (see Table 8) serve as tools for accountability and assessment. Again, that serves to strengthen the cocoa and chocolate industry’s commitment and credibility. Similar to the ECOWAS RAP which set the year 2015 as its

target for the elimination of WFCL in West Africa, by having those timelines, the Harkin-Engel Protocol changes the approach of gradualism implied in the other child labor-related policy documents. The timelines included in the Protocol suggest the need for urgent action to be taken on child labor especially its worst forms. Furthermore, the Protocol somehow shifts the burden of responsibility from the cocoa growing countries to the companies and corporations in the cocoa and chocolate industry. Though all the other documents implicitly emphasize the role and responsibility of national governments in addressing the child labor problem, the Harkin-Engel Protocol implicitly de-emphasizes their role with its primary focus on the cocoa and chocolate industry.

The inclusion of the witnesses and the signatories is for authentication and legitimization of the Protocol. The witnesses also give the production process a more inclusive character because it was witnessed by people in government, people in the industry, and people with no governmental affiliation. However, for the witnesses in government, with the exception of the ambassador from Cote D'Ivoire, there is no other witness from West Africa (See Table 9). This raises a question about the extent to which West African nations were involved in the creation of the Protocol especially considering that the Protocol is to be applied in West Africa. The process can therefore be described as being alienating, and increasing the chances of hegemony taking root. Table 9 provides a full list of the witnesses and signatories of the Harkin-Engel Protocol and the capacities in which they served as a witness or signed the Protocol.

Table 9: Witnesses and Signatories of the Harkin-Engel Protocol

| Government | | Non-Governmental/Independent | | Industry | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Name | Affiliation | Name | Affiliation | Name | Affiliation |
| Tom Harkin | U.S. Senate – Iowa | Kevin Bales | Executive Director, Free the Slaves | Gary Guittard | Guittard Chocolate Company |
| Herbert Kohl | U.S. Senate - Wisconsin | Ron Oswald | General Secretary, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers Association | Paul Michaels | M&M/Mars Inc. |
| Eliot Engel | U.S. Congress – New York | Frans Roselaers | International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC), ILO | Edmond Opler Jr. | World's Finest Chocolate |
| Yousoufou Bamba | Embassy of Ivory Coast | Linda Golodner | National Consumers League | G. Allen Andreas | Archer Daniels Midland Company |
| | | Darlene Adkins | The Child Labor Coalition | Bradley Alford | Nestle Chocolate and Confections, USA |
| | | | | Henry Blommer | Blommer Chocolate Company |
| | | | | Richard H. Lenny | Hershey Food Corporation |
| | | | | Andreas Schmid | Barry Callebaut AG |

(Harkin-Engel Protocol, 2001).

Conclusion

The analysis of the Harkin-Engel Protocol revealed that the Protocol is essentially anchored in Convention C182 of the ILO which means that it is indubitably shaped by the ILO's discourse on child labor. This includes the ILO's conception of who is a child and the nature of childhood. Also, for the Protocol's parameters for action on childhood labor, Convention C182 is set as the frame of reference. Again, the analysis revealed the limited involvement of cocoa growing countries in West Africa in the process of creating the Protocol though it was going to be applied in their countries. This suggests that these countries had limited or little influence and power in structuring a policy that may have varied social, cultural, and economic implications for their communities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GHANA CHILDREN'S ACT

Introduction

This is the last of the “Analysis Chapters.” In this chapter I present the analysis of the provisions on child labor in the Ghana Children’s Act (Act 560). The Ghana Children’s Act (Act 560) is a comprehensive document covering various subjects and issues relating to the welfare of the Ghanaian child. The social/sociocultural practice dimension and the institutional aspect of discourse practice are used as the starting point in presenting the findings.

Social/Sociocultural Practice

This section traces the development of child welfare provisions in Ghana. Furthermore, it shows the context in which the Ghana Children’s Act emerged. Prior to the enactment of the Children’s Act in 1998, Ghana lacked a comprehensive policy on child welfare. Various policies and provisions relating to children were scattered in different legislative instruments (Frimpong-Manso, 2014; Twum-Danso, 2011). Therefore, Twum-Danso (2011) aptly notes that through the Children’s Act, “for the very first time in the Ghanaian legal framework, laws relating to children’s welfare and protection, which were hitherto scattered throughout the statutes, were now brought together into one single document that embodies all legal issues relating to children” (p. 154). In the pre-colonial and colonial eras, customary practices principally directed how children were cared for. There was a kinship foster care system in which extended/distant relatives including clan members cared for children. The system was anchored by mutual

exchanges as well as fear of and reverence for departed kinsmen (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

During the colonial era, the British administration basically imported British models of child welfare into Ghana (then known as the Gold Coast) (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). As part of these measures the Children Care and Reformation Ordinance was created in 1928. This ordinance focused mainly on juvenile delinquents and the threats they posed to law and order especially in the urban centers. In 1940, a new act, the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was created which resulted in the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare. Again, this was aimed at juvenile delinquents with a focus on reformation and the acquisition of industrial skills (Frimpong-Manso, 2014). Subsequent governments, following the independence of Ghana in 1957, used the same policies that had been used by the colonial administration. The Education Act of 1961 granted free basic education and was one of the few policies sensitive to the development of children. Another of such policies was the Children's Maintenance Act of 1965. This policy was enacted to ensure that fathers' fulfilled their child support obligations and was subsequently replaced by the Maintenance of Children Decree in 1977. There was also the Adoption Act of 1962 and the Registration of Births and Deaths Act of 1965 (Frimpong-Manso, 2014).

In 1979, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, the military government ruling Ghana at the time, set up the Ghana National Commission on Children (GNCC) to coordinate the government's welfare program and foreground child-related issues and concerns (Frimpong-Manso, 2014; Twum-Danso, 2011). Furthermore, Ghana's ratification of the CRC in 1990 necessitated the harmonization of local laws and policies

relating to children with the CRC. Thus, following Ghana's return to democratic governance in 1992, the legislative arm of government was mandated to create legislation on children based on models of human rights protocols such as the CRC. In view of this, a five year plan known as "The Child Cannot Wait" was launched to review how the CRC fit or related to the situation of Ghanaian children (Frimpong-Manso, 2014, p. 414). Further, the GNCC constituted an advisory committee for the purposes of implementing changes in Ghana's legal provisions for children. The committee recommended the institution of a comprehensive law which would allow issues concerning children to be addressed with dispatch. That recommendation resulted in the establishment of the Children's Act in 1998 (Frimpong-Manso, 2014; Twum-Danso, 2011).

The government in power at the time the Ghana Children's Act was promulgated was the same government that headed the nation prior to the return to democratic rule. This was a military regime known as the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). The PNDC metamorphosed into the National Democratic Congress (NDC) which won the general elections of 1992. The leaders largely remained the same. The leader of the PNDC and the NDC had previously been in charge of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) which staged a coup in 1979. In 1981, two years later, as the leader of the PNDC, Flight Lieutenant Jerry John Rawlings staged another coup. This was after a brief return to democratic rule (Durotoye & Griffiths, 1997; Owusu, 1996).

Considering its military background and previous involvement in the political affairs of Ghana through coup d'états, a question that arises is whether the establishment of the Children's Act was part of the PNDC/NDC's attempts to build a different public and global image to win over the international community that had strongly been pressing

for Ghana's return to democratic rule. The posing of this question is not based on mere speculation or conjectures; it is informed by the literature. According to Twum-Danso (2008), some governments tend to adopt policies with the primary objective of boosting their diplomatic credentials rather than a commitment to improving living conditions of their citizens. Thus, it is in consideration of this point that the question about the PNDC/NDC's motive is raised. Nevertheless, the expressed objective for the establishment of the Ghana Children's Act, as noted above, was to address the deficiencies and discrepancies in Ghanaian laws and statutes pertaining to children.

The Ghana Children's Act was enacted by Ghana's Parliament, the nation's multi-partisan lawmaking body. There is an intricate institutional process involved in the making of laws. The power to make laws is shared between Parliament and the President. Parliament passes the bill but without the President's assent, the bill cannot become law. However, a variety of organizations and individuals including NGOs, private citizens and government agencies can influence the legislative process.

Textual Analysis

Formal Structure. The Ghana Children's Act is the primary document on child labor in Ghana. The provisions on child labor occur under Part V of the Children's Act under the title, "Employment of Children." The child labor laws represent one part of this section of the Children's Act and are therefore denoted as Sub-Part I.

The provisions are presented under the following headings:

- Prohibition of exploitative child labour
- Prohibition of child labour at night
- Minimum age for child labour

- Minimum age for light work
- Minimum age for hazardous employment
- Application
- Registration of children and young persons in industrial undertakings
- Offences under this sub-part
- Enforcement in formal sector
- Enforcement in informal sector

Linguistic Analysis. The examination of the child labor provisions revealed the use of vocabulary and grammatical constructions that convey knowledge or beliefs about practices (experiential values) and also demonstrate an evaluation or judgment of those practices (expressive values) (Fairclough, 1989). The details of the analysis are presented below. Similar to the other “Analysis Chapters,” for increased coherence and clarity, the analyses are generally structured according to the broad findings they suggest and not on the basis of their distinct textual features such as expressive values and experiential values.

Differentiation of Forms of Child Labor. According to Fairclough (1989), there are instances where the words used in a text or discourse exhibit characteristics related to both expressive and experiential values. That is to say, they express an evaluation or assessment of a situation, and also convey beliefs and ideological views. That was mostly the case with the vocabulary in the child labor section of the Ghana Children’s Act.

The choice of words used by the framers of the Ghana Children’s Act in the section on child labor reveal a differentiation of forms of child labor. The provision

regarding the prohibition of child labor does not just state the Prohibition of Child Labor but rather the “*Prohibition of Exploitative Child Labour*” (Ghana Children’s Act, 1998, Sub-part I). The inclusion of the adjective *exploitative* conveys the idea that there can be forms of child labor that are not abusive or unethical. This represents an evaluation of some forms of child labor and performs the function of making a distinction between acceptable and unacceptable work activities by children. Further clarification is provided to determine what constitutes exploitative or non-exploitative child labor. The Children’s Act considers labor to be exploitative “*if it deprives the child of its health, education or development*” (Ghana Children’s Act, 1998, Ghana Children’s Act, 1998, Sub-part I).

Again, the “*Prohibition of Child Labour at Night*” suggests that there are certain periods when children can work. Thus, night work is not just an adjective and does not technically reflect what people generally or normally assume to be night. Night work in the Children’s Act is associated with particular hours of the day and “*constitutes work between the hours of eight o’clock in the evening and six o’clock in the morning*” (Ghana Children’s Act, 1998, Sub-part I). This is indicative of experiential value as it conveys a belief about the times when work by children is appropriate. Experiential value is also evident in the minimum ages that are instituted since that conveys the belief that children should only work at certain periods in their lives or development. This notion reveals a point of ideological contention because various societies hold different positions or views about the age and stage when work is appropriate. The Ghana Children’s Act includes the following minimum age provisions:

The minimum age for admission of a child to employment shall be fifteen years.

The minimum age for the engagement of a child in light work shall be thirteen years.

The minimum age for the engagement of a person in hazardous work is eighteen years. (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I)

Grammatical Features. Similar to the manner in which the findings relating to the word choices are presented above, the findings relating to various aspects of the grammatical features are presented integratively. The findings cover the various values - expressive, experiential and relational – identified in the text. In relation to this, the modes and modality of the sentence structures are also presented.

Concern with Child Labor. The experiential value of grammatical features as previously explained, points to how events and incidents are represented through the language of a text particularly through its sentence structures (Fairclough, 1989). As demonstrated in some of the excerpts above, there is an attempt to control child labor. Though some of the provisions of the Ghana Children's Act such as "*No person shall engage a child in exploitative labour*" and "*No person shall engage a child in night work,*" do not necessarily indicate the occurrence of child labor in Ghana, they indicate a concern with child labor. However, these provisions also de-emphasize the agency of children in child labor and promote the discursive construction of children as passive agents. Further, the provisions suggest that it is other people who put or involve children in child labor. This representation of the incidence of child labor is conveyed through the subject-verb-object structure of the excerpts, "*No person shall engage a child in exploitative labour*" and "*No person shall engage a child in night work,*" both of which are simple sentences. *No person* is the subject and *a child* is the object.

The extent of the concern with child labor is illustrated by other provisions of the Ghana Children's Act. The engagement of children in exploitative child labor is criminalized. This is illustrated by the following provision:

Any person who contravenes the provisions of this Sub-Part commits an offence and is liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding ₵10 million [in old Ghanaian currency]⁸ or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years or to both.

Notwithstanding subsection (1) of this section, any person who contravenes section 93 (1) commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding ₵500,000.00 [in old Ghanaian currency]. (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I)

Considering that it is the engagement of children in exploitative child labor that the Ghana Children's Act prohibits, it is important to note that it is not child labor per se that is criminalized. Rather, it is exploitative child labor that is criminalized. The excerpt above simply presents that information in a declarative manner. The analysis revealed that it also conveys an evaluation of child labor practices, thus, indicating an instance of expressive value.

The expressive value of grammatical features represent text producers or discourse participants' evaluation of events, incidents, and practices through grammatical forms. This is sometimes conveyed through both modal and non-modal verbs and tenses (Fairclough, 1989). The aspects of the Ghana Children's Act relating to criminalization convey an evaluation of child labor practices. Certain forms of child labor are judged to be criminal and punishable offences. Though those excerpts do not include any modal auxiliaries the verb *is* represents an instance of expressive modality and is indicative of the definitiveness of those statements.

⁸ In 1998, when the U.S. Dollar (USD)/Ghana Cedi (GHS) rate was about a dollar to 2,300 GHS (1 USD equaled 2,300 GHS), the U.S. Dollar equivalent would have been about 4,300 USD. (See Calcprofi - <http://www.calcprofi.com/exchange-rate-history-us-dollar-to-ghana-cedi.html?date=1998>).

In 2016, with the U.S. Dollar/New Ghana Cedi rate being about a dollar to 3.9 GHS (1 USD equals 3.9 GHS), the U.S. Dollar equivalent is about 260 USD. (See Calcprofi - <http://www.calcprofi.com/convert-USD-GHS.html>).

In defining child, the Ghana Children's Act states that "*a child is a person below the age of eighteen years*" (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-Part I – Rights of the child and parental duty). In this instance too, the verb *is* suggests this definition is an absolute claim by the producers of the text. In effect, this claim is made definitive, discounting alternative views and constructions of a child.

The Authoritative Nature of the Ghana Children's Act's Child Labor Provisions

The mode of a sentence helps reveal its purpose or intent. For instance, a sentence may simply be conveying information. In other cases, it may be exacting a request or demanding an action from the one to whom it is directed. This attribute of sentences is sometimes evinced by the use of modal verbs (Fairclough, 1989). The authoritative nature of the child labor provisions is achieved with the use of the modal auxiliary *shall* as is evident in the minimum age provisions above. There are prohibitive clauses that state that "*no person shall engage a child in exploitative labour [and] no person shall engage a child in night work*" (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I). These sentences are both declarative and imperative. Both sentences present information on actions which are prohibited in the employment of children. The demonstration of this prohibition is achieved through the use of the modal auxiliary *shall*. The use of *shall* indicates obligation, giving the sentences a character of imperativeness. These provisions therefore establish the way people ought to act. *No person* is a generic reference to every person within Ghana's jurisdiction. This provision also conveys the element of relational value as it reveals the position of the Ghana Children's Act in relation to people living or present in Ghana (Fairclough, 1989). Every person within the nation's jurisdiction is subject to the provisions on child labor.

In the sections relating to the enforcement of the Ghana Children's Act *shall* is similarly used to institute procedures for addressing any breach of the Act. Further, it shows the responsibilities and roles of different actors or agents. For example, it is noted that:

A district labour officer shall carry out any enquiry he may consider necessary in order to satisfy himself that the provisions of this Sub-Part with respect to labour by children and young persons in the formal sector are being strictly observed. (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I)

Additionally, it is stated that "the Social Services Sub-Committee of a District Assembly and the Department shall be responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of this Sub-Part in the informal sector" (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I). Overall, this demonstrates the authority and the forcefulness of the document.

Analysis of Discursive Practice (Discourse Practice)

This section presents findings based on an examination of the discursive strategies and techniques utilized in the production process for the Ghana Children's Act. The analysis presented below covers various aspects of intertextuality and the constituent parts of the Children's Act.

Discourse Process/Intertextuality: Constitutive Intertextuality. The Ghana Children's Act is a regulatory instrument that belongs to the genre of government and legislation. This is even suggested by the name. An act is by definition a law made by legislators (Merriam-Webster's online dictionary, n.d.). The language and form of the Ghana Children's Act conform to the typical structure of legislation. There are declarative and imperative provisions stipulating the conduct of affairs in a variety of situations.

Manifest Intertextuality. The Ghana Children's Act directly incorporates other documents and texts. The child labor provisions on light work and the setting of the

minimum age terms are intertextual references to ILO Convention C138. The ILO's Convention C138 offered some broad guidelines including a range of ages. In the Ghana Children's Act, the ages that are chosen indicate a domestication of C138 through incorporation (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I). Again, the provisions regarding hazardous employment also indicate further incorporation of the ILO's child labor discourse in the Children's Act. According to the Ghana Children's Act:

The minimum age for the engagement of a person in hazardous work is eighteen years.
 Work is hazardous when it poses a danger to the health, safety or morals of a person.
 Hazardous work includes –
 (a) going to sea;
 (b) mining and quarrying;
 (c) portering of heavy loads;
 (d) manufacturing industries where chemicals are produced or used;
 (e) work in places where machines are used; and
 (f) work in places such as bars, hotels and places of entertainment where a person may be exposed to immoral behavior. (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I)

Similarly, Article 3 of Convention C138 states that, “the minimum age for admission to any type of employment or work which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out is likely to jeopardise⁹ the health, safety or morals of young persons shall not be less than 18 years.” Again, similar language is used in Convention C182, the ILO's Convention relating to WFCL. Convention C182, as part of its definition of WFCL, defines it as “work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.”

Further, the definition of child presented in the Ghana Children's Act demonstrates an incorporation and domestication of the CRC and the ILO's child labor

⁹ This is the British form of “Jeopardize.” The document from which the quote is taken used British English.

discourse. The Children's Act states that "...a child is a person below the age of eighteen years" (Ghana Children's Act, 1998, Sub-part I). As noted earlier, that is the same definition used in the CRC and by the ILO particularly in Conventions C182 and C138. This is a clear demonstration of the UN and ILO's influence in shaping the discourse on child labor in Ghana.

Part 1 of Article 93 of the Ghana Children's Act which concerns the *registration of children and young persons in industrial undertakings* states that:

An employer in an industrial undertaking shall keep a register of the children and young persons employed by him and of the dates of their births if known or of their apparent ages if their dates of birth are not known.

This provision demonstrates the domestication of Article 9 of the ILO's Convention C138 and thus another indication of the ILO's influence in the establishment of the Ghana Children's Act. However, a structure or model is not provided or suggested for the determination of the apparent ages of the children which means the situation can be easily manipulated.

Degree of Intertextuality: Scale of Absence or Presence: Backgrounding.

The incorporation of discourses occurs along a spectrum. Intertextuality can be pronounced or subtle. In the case of the Ghana Children's Act the degree of intertextuality is less pronounced. Despite the incorporation of the ILO and UN's discourses in the Ghana Children's Act as demonstrated above, these institutions are not referenced or mentioned directly. The backgrounding of the ILO and the UN enshrouds the influence these organizations may have had in the creation of the Children's Act. To one not familiar with the ILO and UN's provisions that relate either directly or remotely to child labor and child welfare, the intertextual links with the Ghana Children's Act

mentioned above may not be apparent. Therefore, the backgrounding of the ILO and the UN helps present the Ghana Children's Act, principally, as a Ghanaian initiative contrary to views that it is a domestication of international provisions relating to children and child welfare (Twum-Danso, 2011).

Conclusion

The analysis of the Ghana Children's Act revealed that its construction of who is a child is a replication of ILO and UN discourse. This is also similar to what was found in the other policy documents, namely, the Harkin-Engel Protocol, the OAU/AU's ACRWC, and the ECOWAS RAP. This supports the notion of a homogenized and universal conception of who is a child. However, the conceptualization of child labor contained in the Ghana Children's Act differs from the dominant ILO discourse. The ILO delineates two forms of child labor. There is "child labor," a generic and homogenized term referring to work or employment and related practices that negatively impact the well-being of children and then there is the worst forms of child labor (WFCL) (Diallo et al., 2010; Diallo et al., 2013).

The Ghana Children's Act, by way of implication, also suggests the existence of different forms of child labor. However, in the Ghana Children's Act child labor does not appear to be an issue of concern. It is exploitative child labor that is a matter of concern. The other form of child labor delineated in the Ghana Children's Act is hazardous work which is synonymous with the ILO's WFCL. In effect, there is some indication that some forms of child labor are acceptable. Therefore, despite the influence of the ILO and the UN in shaping Ghana's child labor policy, there is indication of a distinct and unique Ghanaian position of child work and employment.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, DISCUSSIONS, AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the conceptions of who is a child and the nature of childhood in a sample of child labor-related policy documents and the power dynamics surrounding such constructions. I begin with a summary of the study, and present the major findings by responding to the research questions coherently using the results of the data analysis. Subsequent to that, I discuss my deductions based on these findings. I also discuss the implications of the conclusions I draw from the findings, and present suggestions for future research.

Summary

Child labor remains an issue of major concern. Several scholars (e.g. Chirwa, 1993; Clerk, 2011; Nieuwenhuys, 1996; Nordtveit, 2010; Nsamenang, 2008) have noted the existence of hegemonic tendencies and trends, particularly the conceptions of who is a child and the nature of childhood, influencing child labor discourse and the development of instruments and policies to address the issue. This study sought to answer some important questions in this regard. The questions are:

- How is a child defined according to the ILO and the Government of Ghana?
- How is childhood defined according to the ILO and the Government of Ghana?
- Who is defined as a child, and what is considered to be the form and nature of childhood according to the AU Charter, ECOWAS RAP, and the Harkin-Engel Protocol?

- What are the power relations in the discourse on child labor between the ILO and the Government of Ghana? Whose voice has power in the development of these conventions and provisions on child labor?
- What has been the impact of these beliefs, views, and conceptualizations on dealing with child labor in Ghana?

A purposive sample of 16 child labor-related policy documents was analyzed using Fairclough's (1989, 1995) three-dimensional CDA model. The use of the model provided a multi-sectional view of the documents: a textual view, a view of the production and development process, and a view of historical, situational and circumstantial factors surrounding the documents' discourse on child labor. The analysis started at the textual level, examining the linguistic and grammatical features of the texts to identify their word choices and grammatical constructions in their discourses on child labor. This analysis also examined the notions and ideological positions those features conveyed about who is a child and the nature of childhood.

Finally, at the textual level, the power relations and dynamics of the texts were also examined. Subsequently, the documents were reviewed for an analysis of their production and development. This included the identification of their intertextual patterns, particularly the texts and discourses they had incorporated. Then the documents were approached from a non-textual point. The contextual factors - social, cultural and political - surrounding the development and establishment of the documents were examined. The textual examination mostly revealed explicit features and components of the texts. Again, elements of implicitness and presupposition were made evident (See Figure 5). This was helpful in identifying and mapping out the intertextual chain of the

documents (See Figure 6). The intertextual patterns in turn helped uncover the hegemonic and homogenizing trends prevalent in child labor discourse. Also, the intertextual patterns helped make evident, variations in the discourses on child labor presented by the various policy documents. The social/sociocultural examination revealed elements of historicity specific to each of the documents, and child labor discourse in general.

Figure 5: Diagram of the Analytic Process

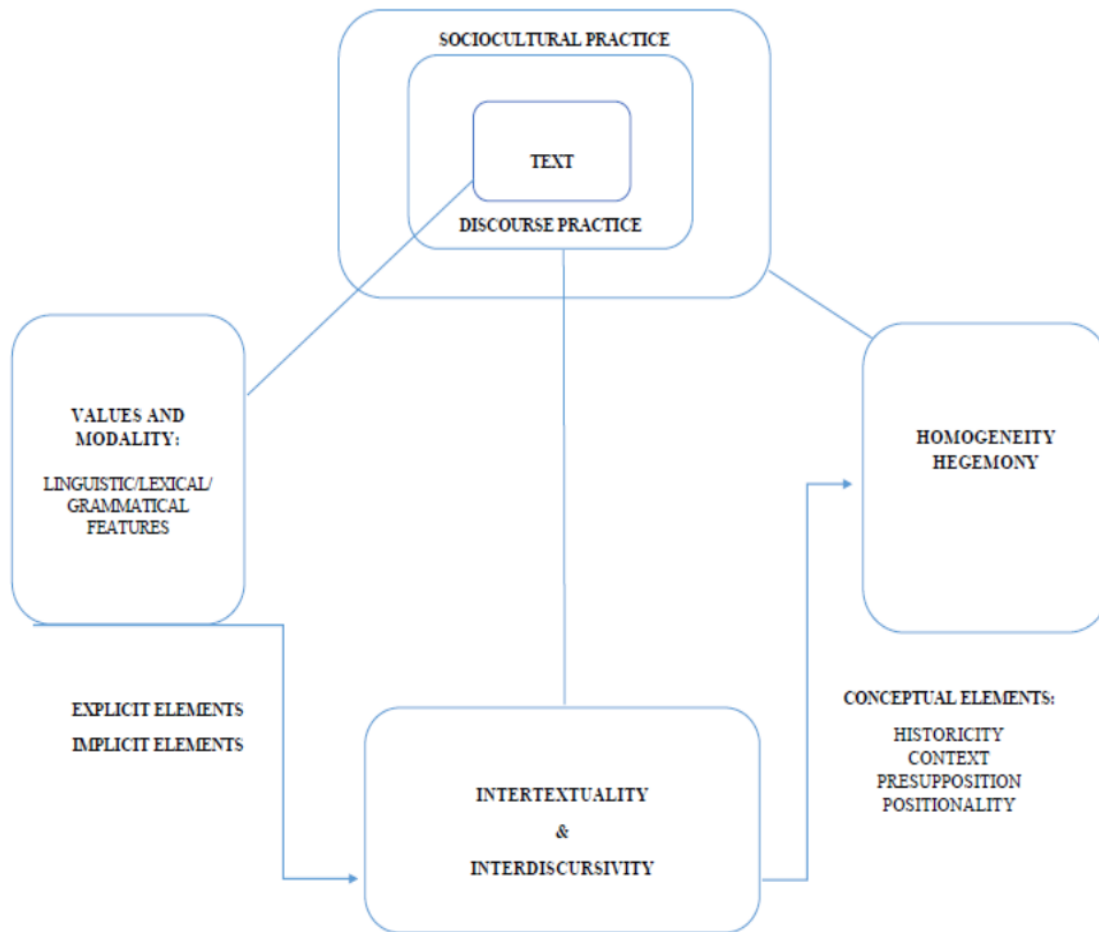
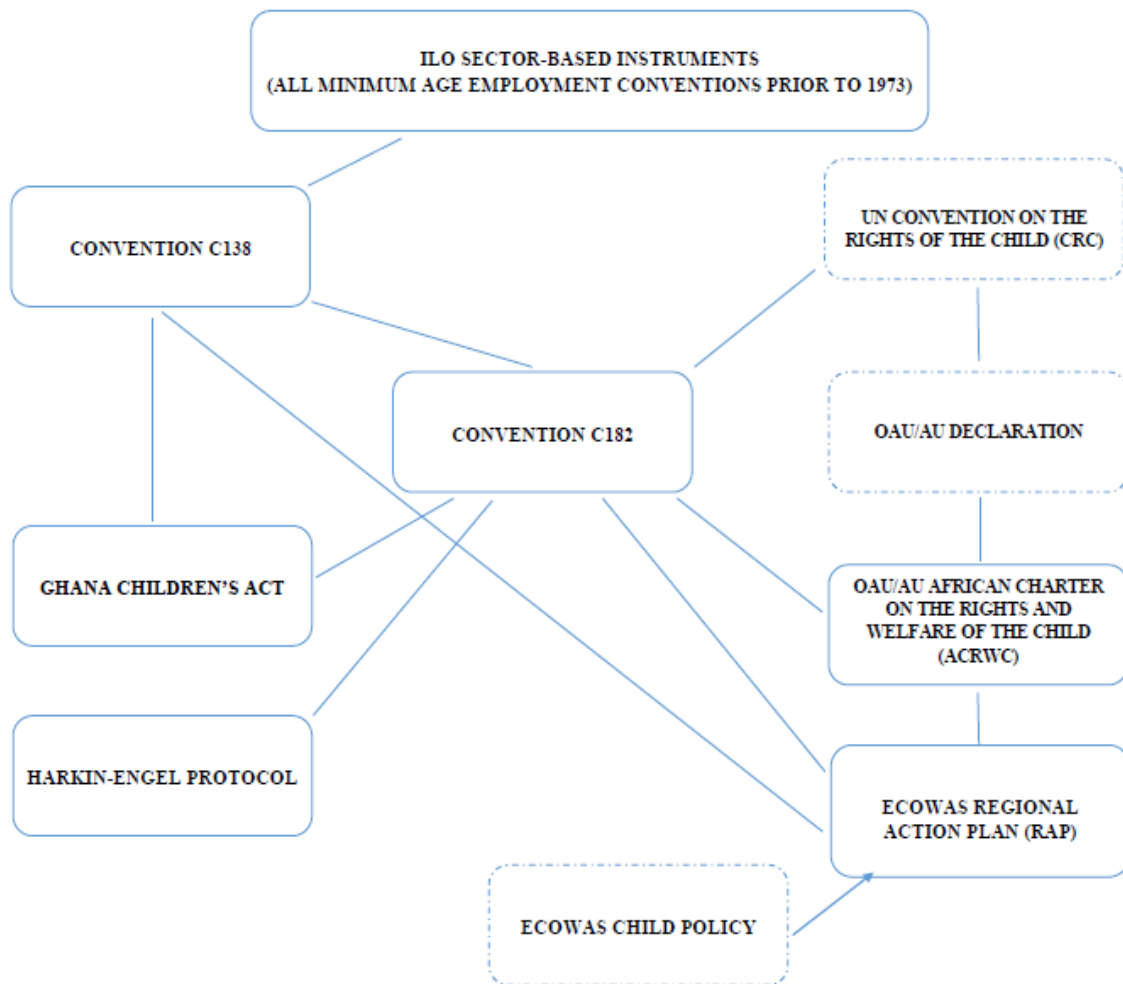


Figure 6: Mapping of Intertextual Patterns¹⁰

¹⁰ The objects with solid lines represent texts that were part of the primary sample for the study. The objects with broken lines represent texts that were subsequently reviewed through theoretical sampling.

Findings

The findings suggest there is a homogenized definition of who is a child underlying child labor discourse. The findings also reveal variations in the conceptualized nature of childhood in relation to work. The power relations in child labor discourse favor the ILO.

Further discussion of the findings for the research questions above are presented under the following headings:

- Who is a Child
- Nature and Form of Childhood
- Power Relations in the Discourse on Child Labor
- Impact of conceptualizations of who is a child, nature and form of childhood on dealing with child labor in Ghana.

Who is a Child. Historically, i.e. starting from 1919, the ILO did not provide an explicit definition of who is a child in any of its child labor-related policy documents, namely, the minimum age conventions. The ILO only did so in its 1999 Convention, C182, titled the Convention on the Worst Forms of Child Labor. In C182, a child is defined as any person under 18 years old.

Similarly, the Government of Ghana also defines a child as any person below the age of 18 years in the Ghana Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560). The OAU/AU's African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC) uses the same definition for a child. The Harkin-Engel Protocol and the ECOWAS RAP are largely structured on the ILO's C182, and thus incorporate its definition of a child. Further analysis revealed that this definition of a child is based on the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child

(CRC). Thus, through the UN, the different documents and the organizations that produced them are intertextually linked.

Nature and Form of Childhood. The analysis revealed varying conceptions of the nature of childhood in the policy documents. These conceptions were centered around child employment and work activities, and in some instances, explicitly linked to the views of child labor. According to the ILO, children should not work until the attainment of a particular age. The ILO also considers education to be an important aspect of childhood. Thus, primacy is given to schooling over work. Again, though the ILO prohibits employment and engagement in certain work activities during childhood, children could still engage in those work activities if it formed a part of their academic or technical training. However, the analysis of the ILO documents revealed that the ILO's views of activities children can engage in so far as work is concerned and the age at which they can do so have changed over time (ILO, n.d.b).

In the ILO's minimum age conventions of 1919 and 1920, children under the age of 14 years were prohibited from employment. However, in 1921 children under 14 years were permitted to work if such work did not interfere with school attendance. For some activities such as serving as stokers or trimmers on shipping vessels, children had to be at least 18 years in order to be employed. Yet, children who were 16 years old could be employed if the vessels they were going to work on were solely involved in coastal trade in India and Japan. Sixteen-year-olds could also be employed as stokers or trimmers in places where eighteen year olds could not be found for such work (ILO, n.d.b).

Also, in 1935, children as young as 12 could be employed for light work as long as it did not interfere with their schooling, and as long as such work was not on Sundays

and legally recognized public holidays or between the hours of 8pm and 8am (ILO, n.d.b). In 1950, children under or over 15 years were prohibited from employment if the laws of their countries still required them to be in primary school at that age. In the absence of any such requirement even 13 year olds could be employed if the work did not interfere with their schooling or exceed two hours of activity per day. Also, they could not be employed if the number of hours a job or task required and the total number of hours spent in school for any given day exceeded seven hours. In 1959 (the convention came into force in 1961), children under 15 years were prohibited from employment on vessels involved in maritime fishing. Children who had attained the age of 15 could still not be employed on fishing vessels that used coal (ILO, n.d.b). Despite this provision, the employment of even 14-year-olds was possible if a certificate was procured from the relevant national authority or institution. In 1973 (the convention came into force in 1976), 18 years was set as the minimum age for any form of employment that can negatively impact the morals and safety of young people (ILO, n.d.b).

However, 16-year-olds could be employed in such work if protection was provided for their safety including training for the performance of their assigned tasks. Also, 13 to 15 year olds could be employed if the prospective employment did not pose a problem to schooling or a threat to their safety and morals. For countries with less developed economies, the minimum age could be 12 years. This age is dependent on the economic and developmental status of the country in which the child lives (ILO, n.d.b). The ILO also notes that even at the attainment of the age when children can work, they should be prohibited from certain types of work or employment activities. Thus in 1999, ILO Convention C182 was introduced. C182 stated that the engagement of children in

WFCL should be prevented, and free access to basic education and vocational training where possible should be ensured (ILO, n.d.a, n.d.b, 1999). The ILO's position is adopted in whole by the Harkin-Engel Protocol and the ECOWAS RAP. Essentially, the Harkin-Engel Protocol and the ECOWAS RAP share the same view regarding the nature and form of childhood.

The OAU/AU indicates that childhood is a stage where children need special consideration and protection. However, the OAU/AU also notes that children have responsibilities towards their families and communities. The OAU/AU, unlike the ILO, does not provide specific age limits or restrictions regarding the employment of children or their engagement in work activities. In the discourse practice analysis of the OAU/AU's ACRWC, an intertextual examination of the OAU/AU's African Declaration on the Rights of the Child revealed that the OAU/AU assumes some forms of child labor are necessary. This presupposes that it does not view childhood as a stage where children should not be employed. However, the forms of child labor that are considered necessary and those that are unnecessary are not specified.

Similarly, the Ghana Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) holds the view of childhood as a protected developmental stage. However, that does not mean childhood should be devoid of labor or work. The Ghana Children's Act, 1998 (Act 560) explicitly prohibits exploitative child labor, stating that children should not be engaged in exploitative child labor. This presupposes that children can be engaged in labor so far as it is not deemed exploitative. Further prohibition on child work in the Ghana Children's Act relates to the time and period when such work takes place as well as the age of the child. Children are not supposed to work between the hours of 8 pm and 6am. Again, children cannot be

engaged in employment until they are 15 years old, and they cannot be engaged in light work until they are at least 13 years.

Power Relations in the Discourse on Child Labor. There are both covert and overt demonstrations of power in the discourse on child labor. The nature of the power relations differ from one policy to the other. Overtly, members of the ILO that have ratified its child labor conventions are enjoined to uphold them. The ratifying members are initially bound by the terms of the Conventions for a period of 10 years. If they fail to denounce the conventions at the end of that period, by default they will be obligated to uphold the terms for another period of 10 years. The ECOWAS RAP and the OAU/AU do not exert any such demands on their members. The ECOWAS RAP basically provides recommendations for actions to address child labor. The actions the Harkin-Engel Protocol demands of the cocoa and chocolate industry are voluntary. However, per the terms of the Protocol, the cocoa and chocolate industry risked having legislation passed by the U.S. Congress to compel them to take action on child labor if they failed to fulfill their commitments to address the child labor problem. The Ghana Children's Act exerts power on employers within the nation's jurisdiction, as it demands that they adhere to its provisions. It also spells out the duties and obligations of local institutions, and officials responsible for child welfare and matters relating to labor.

The ILO's Institutional Hegemony. The analyses also revealed a more nuanced aspect of the power dynamics in the discourse on child labor. Nevertheless, this made the ILO's institutional hegemony apparent. As demonstrated in the analyses of the policy documents, there are several interactions and exchanges surrounding child labor discourse. These interactions and exchanges involve national governments, industries,

and corporations, as well as regional and global political and economic organizations. The analyses revealed that the ILO holds great influence in shaping child labor discourse. The ILO's provisions on child labor have served as the template for the development of policies on child labor by countries and organizations. The ILO's Convention C182 is an integral part of the Harkin-Engel Protocol and the ECOWAS RAP. Again, the OAU/AU in its ACRWC recommends that its member states use the ILO's child labor provisions as a reference point as they develop or establish policies to address child labor in their countries. In the Ghana Children's Act, though direct mention is not made of the ILO, Ghana's child labor provisions are identical to those presented in the ILO Convention, C138. Also, the provisions on hazardous child labor in the Ghana Children's Act are similar to the ILO's provisions on WFCL in Convention C182.

Further, the analysis of the sociocultural practice dimension of the ILO Conventions revealed the historical dominance of Western countries in the formation of the ILO and the shaping of its policies on child labor. Despite the changes in the composition of the ILO's membership, it is fair to say it is Western-dominated. I elaborate on this in the *Discussion* section. Again, despite being an Africa-based regional organization, ECOWAS' RAP was developed in conjunction with the ILO. Also, the Harkin-Engel Protocol was the product of a collaborative effort involving a U.S. congressman and senator and cocoa and chocolate companies (See Table 9). The terms of the Harkin-Engel Protocol required the participation of the ILO in an expert role. However, though West Africa is the geographical area for which the Protocol intended to regulate the growing of cocoa, it appears countries in that region, especially those that grow cocoa, had very minimal input in its development.

Other Observations. The analysis also revealed that the degree or extent of an organization or institution's power as well as the manifestations and demonstrations of that power is contingent on multiple factors and changes over time. For instance, in the early days of its existence, the ILO made some very categorical and definite demands of member states. One example is found in Article 5 of Convention C005 which stated that, *“the provisions in the present Japanese law admitting children under the age of twelve years to certain light and easy employments shall be repealed.”* However, one cannot find similarly worded provisions or statements in the current Conventions. Overall, this is a finding that suggests how discourses may be reflective of the times in which they are made.

I also observed that the ILO Conventions and the ACRWC did not provide definite or specific sanctions against members who failed to implement child labor standards. Similarly, the Harkin-Engel Protocol and the ECOWAS RAP do not provide any clear penalties or sanctions for the failure to meet the stipulated deadlines of their respective policy initiatives. The only exception was the Ghana Children's Act which provided very clear penalties for the defaulting of its child labor provisions.

Impact of Conceptualizations of Who is a Child, Nature and Form of Childhood on Child Labor in Ghana. It is important to note that the data yielded limited information about the impact of the conceptions of who is a child, and the nature and form of childhood on dealing with child labor in Ghana. In relation to this question, the findings mainly demonstrate the impact on legislation and in bureaucratic circles. The findings revealed that Ghana's child labor policies have a Western orientation a la the UN's CRC and the ILO Conventions. The definition of who is a child as presented in the

CRC, and the ILO's global discourse on child labor have impacted Ghana's child labor legislation and policy initiatives. This demonstrates more of a macro level impact (See Figure 6 for a general view of the intertextual patterns). However, micro-level impact, in terms of daily life, and daily activities, remain vague. Other methodological approaches are needed to further explore and examine the different types of impact.

Discussion

One of the main findings of this study is that a homogenized definition of who is a child – any person under 18 years - underlies child labor discourse. Though this definition is originally associated with the UN's CRC, its application to child labor discourse has been primarily promoted by the ILO. In relation to this, considerable efforts have also been made by the ILO to promote a universal notion of the nature of childhood with respect to work and employment. This finding is in agreement with views that suggest a universal notion of childhood, albeit idealized, glamorized and sentimentalized, is being spread across the world (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006).

Though the Government of Ghana adopted the UN's definition of who is a child in the Ghana Children's Act, it cannot be said that it wholly accepts the ILO's notion of childhood in terms of work and employment. There is no direct opposition to the ILO's position on children and work in the Ghana Children's Act. However, what is clear is that, though the ILO presents child labor as a problem, defining it as work that poses a risk to the physical and psychological development of children (ILO, 2004), in the Ghana Children's Act, it appears that is not exactly the case. The problem is not with child labor per se. In contrast, it is exploitative child labor that is a problem. The analysis revealed a similar view was evident in the OAU/AU's discourse on child labor. The Assembly of

Heads of State and Government, stated in the Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child, that as part of efforts to promote child welfare, it was “convinced of the need for Member States to take effective measures...to curb unnecessary child labor” (OAU, 1979). This suggests that the OAU/AU’s concern may be with “*unnecessary child labor*” and not child labor in general. Surprisingly, this particular disposition towards child labor was not made explicit in the ACRWC. The lack of explicitness may have been done to make the ACRWC align more closely with the ILO’s standards. This is a plausible conjecture, considering that the ILO was involved in the development of the ACRWC, and also, considering the institutional hegemony of institutions such as the ILO (Annisette, 2004; Dreher & Sturm, 2012; Rapkin & Strand, 2006).

The differentiation of child labor evinced by the OAU/AU’s use of the phrase *unnecessary child labor*, and the Government of Ghana’s *exploitative child labor* is not merely a matter of semantics. The differentiation suggests a variation in how child labor is viewed between the ILO on one side, and the Government of Ghana and the OAU/AU on the other. Also, it alludes to the different views of childhood, and the roles and responsibilities of children that can be found in Ghanaian communities in particular, and African communities in general. As rightly noted by Nsamenang (2008), within Africa’s child cognitive socialization and development frameworks, children’s participation in work activities is normative, and without any rigid age restrictions. There may be a more fluid conception and use of age as a determiner of children’s work practices in Ghana and other African countries. Lord’s (2011) historical review of Ghanaian childhoods, which covered the colonial period, showed the involvement of children as young as eight years in carpentry apprenticeships, and children as young as 10 years in food vending. The laws

concerning children may have changed but the larger Ghanaian society's views of children and the practices involving children do not reflect these changes. It is therefore not surprising that some districts in Northern Ghana, as Kuyini and Mahama (2009) discovered, felt the Ghana Children's Act, which incorporates the ILO's framework for child work and employment, as presented in ILO Conventions C182 and C138, was presenting a new orientation of how to raise children.

The Early Child Development Policy of Ghana has proposed that the minimum age for light work in Ghana should be 11 years (GSS, 2014). In the same vein, the Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework for Ghana and the National Plan of Action for the Elimination of the Worst Forms of Child Labor have proposed that the minimum age for light work should be 12 years (GSS, 2014). These proposals demonstrate that Ghanaians have a different view of childhood and children's involvement in work in contrast to what the ILO presents (GSS, 2014). Further, these proposals imply the need for a revision of the current provision in the Ghana Children's Act which has set the age for light work at 13 years. The above suggests that the Ghana Children's Act's child labor provisions may not be entirely representative of the larger society's views. Nordtveit's (2010) assertion that there are three distinct levels of discourse namely, the international discourse, the national legislative discourse, and the local discourse in the field of child labor lends support to this finding. The international discourse corresponds to the policies anchored in multilateral and bilateral partnerships, the national legislative discourse corresponds to the domestication of international policies and agreements, and the local discourse relates to customary and traditional notions. According to Nordtveit (2010), the national legislative discourse is usually closely aligned to the international discourse

signaling a discontinuity between what national policies may present and the local realities. The disjointedness lends insight on why policies may be perceived to be foreign or alien to the cultures and people whose actions they are intended to regulate as Kuyini and Mahama (2009) found in some districts in Northern Ghana.

Again, this highlights the intricate connection between international conventions and global politics which Twum-Danso (2008) describes as the “politics of international conventions” (p. 411). According to Twum-Danso (2008), African governments may be motivated by the prospects of getting the approval of Western governments, securing aid, and boosting trade to ratify and domesticate international conventions without much regard for their implications. Framed alternatively, the governments of low income and developing countries may be constrained by political and economic considerations to adopt policies that may be ill-suited to addressing their problems. For developing and low income countries who are reliant on foreign donors, generally the industrialized nations of the West, the ratification of conventions on child labor or the crafting of domestic child labor policies appear to have become one more check box that needs to be ticked off in order to increase their human rights ratings, become eligible for technical and financial aid, or avoid trade sanctions.

Ghana found itself in such a position a little over a decade ago for child labor in the cocoa sector (Asuming-Brempong et al., 2007; Laird, 2012). In that situation, facing the threat of a boycott of its cocoa, the Government of Ghana established the National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC) in 2006 as part of the domestication and implementation of ILO Convention C182 (Asuming-Brempong et al., 2007). Situations such as this reveal the dilemma of the

governments of developing countries such as Ghana. Rather than highlighting, challenging, and pushing for the inherent flaws of such instruments to be addressed, the fear of a political or economic backlash drives these countries to accede to the pressures from Western countries, and global institutions such as the ILO (Laird, 2012; Takyi-Amoako, 2010). This, essentially, reveals the understated and muted power dynamics that shape child labor discourse.

The ILO is generally reputed to be a global body with technical expertise, and a broad resource and knowledge base on labor issues. Further, the ILO's membership composition, and its status as a specialized agency of the UN has enhanced its legitimacy and authority with respect to legislation and statutory provisions on child labor. This has resulted in the ILO's Conventions on child labor being viewed as the gold standard or reference point in global discussions on child labor. Furthermore, this has given it considerable power and influence resulting in the establishment of an institutional hegemony on child labor discourse. The incorporation of the ILO's Conventions or setting them up as reference points for the development of policies on child labor as done by ECOWAS, the Harkin-Engel Protocol, the OAU/AU, and the Government of Ghana demonstrates how the ILO's hegemony plays out. Through its role as an expert, not only has the ILO provided consultations to regional political and economic bodies such as ECOWAS, it has managed to make its Conventions the templates for child labor policy development across the globe. The ILO's hegemony is a complex dynamic which I attempt to further explain below.

The power and hegemony of global organizations like the ILO's is often masked by their multilateral approach to policy-making (Laird, 2012; Scott, 1998). As revealed in

the analysis of the ILO's institutional practices, multilateralism is one of the core features of the ILO. Multilateralism entails the use of an integrative and coordinated approach to policy-making generally involving three or more countries (Tai Wei, 2014; Villanueva Ulfgard & Alejo Jaime, 2014). Multilateralism is often employed by countries and global institutions to leverage their power and enhance the effectiveness of policies. This promotes integration among different partners and increases buy-in. However, multilateralism does not always ensure representativeness, and can be a means through which powerful entities increase their power and influence (Scott, 1998; Tai Wei, 2014; Villanueva Ulfgard & Alejo Jaime, 2014).

The potential emergence of hegemonic blocs is probably what prompted the non-European countries at the ILO's first conference to sound a note of caution that European predominance would be antithetical to the purpose and success of the ILO (Butler, 1934b). At its inception, eight of the 12 government positions on the ILO's Governing Body were reserved for the leading industrialized countries at that time. The eight positions were non-elective and assigned on the basis of a country's political and economic status. The countries originally designated for these positions were Japan and the United States (later on replaced by Denmark), Belgium, France, Germany, the United Kingdom (then Great Britain), Italy and Switzerland (ILO, 2007). The occupants of the four remaining positions, determined by elections, were Poland, Canada, Argentina and Spain (ILO, 2007). As the sociocultural practice analysis of the ILO indicates, the workers' group on the Governing Body did not include a non-European country while the employer's group included just one non-European country, Canada (Butler, 1934b; Maul 2012).

Over time, the Governing Body has been numerically expanded to make it more representative. It is apparent the expansion has been done to reflect global political and economic changes. Following the independence and decolonization of countries in Africa, Asia, and South America, the ILO's regional and geographic composition has changed (ILO, n.d.d; Maul 2012). The countries occupying the non-elective positions reserved for the leading industrialized nations now are Brazil, China, France, Germany, India, Italy, Japan, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom (ILO, n.d.d). By virtue of the elective position system, Ghana, together with five other African countries, is currently represented on the Governing Body. There are other countries from South America, Asia and Europe also holding elective positions (ILO, n.d.d). These changes are not indicative of an egalitarian structure in the ILO's leadership. The designation of countries as elective and non-elective, corresponding to temporary and permanent positions on the Governing Body, demonstrates the stratified nature of the ILO's leadership.

Additionally, the stratification of the ILO's leadership can also be seen along the following lines – former colonizers and former colonies, developed or industrialized nations and developing nations, and donors and recipients of aid. It would be naïve for one to assume that these dynamics do not influence the interactions of these nations and the ILO's policies. The ILO inadvertently becomes a proxy for the more powerful nations, reifying and providing legitimation for their views and interests regardless of how unfair that may be to countries like Ghana. As revealed in the analysis, at the ILO's first conference following its formation, Western nations with colonies vehemently objected to policies that would have applied the same labor standards to their countries

and colonies (Rogers et al., 2009). Thus, different standards were developed which accorded the indigenes of the colonies less rights. In essence, the very first ILO Conventions that were created were crafted to reflect the interests of the powerful countries, i.e., the colonizers (Rogers et al., 2009).

Further, the findings demonstrate that despite the changes that may have occurred over the years the patterns of dominance are relatively the same. As Annisette (2004), Dreher and Sturm (2012), and Rapkin and Strand (2006) indicate, the UN and its specialized agencies which include organizations such as the ILO, the IMF, and the World Bank have serious democratic deficits. There is an unequal distribution of power, and these organizations have voting systems and structures that reinforce the dominance of high income countries in global affairs.

Again, these findings are corroborated by Laird (2012) and Takyi-Amoako (2010). Takyi-Amoako (2010), in her examination of the interactions between donors and Ghana's Ministry of Education (MoE) concerning Ghana's Education Strategic Plan (ESP), noted that "donors and the MoE were unequally positioned within the arena of power" (p. 193). Additionally, Takyi-Amoako (2010) noted that the process of the ESP's development was more oriented towards securing the validation and support of the donors rather than ensuring parity in the interactions, and independently articulating the MoE's own priorities. Similarly, Laird (2012), in her review of Ghana's Early Childhood Care and Development Policy, the Education Strategic Plan, and the National Youth Policy of Ghana concluded that the unequal relations and biased interactions appear to have resulted in the ceding of the direction of Ghana's welfare policies to global agencies and donor countries. Further, Laird (2012) and Takyi-Amoako's (2010) findings indicate

that through bilateral and multilateral engagements, international organizations such as the World Bank, the United Nations, the UK's Department of International Development (DFID), and the US Agency of International Development (USAID) and donor countries further their development priorities in the Global South. In Laird's (2012) view, these agencies also serve as conduits for the extension of Anglocentric constructions and views of childhood. The above highlights some of the core assumptions of postcolonial theory particularly the reproduction and reification of colonial era relations of dominance between Western and non-Western nations (Ahluwalia, 2002, 2010; Daza & Tuck, 2014).

What is concerning is not the attempt to improve the well-being of children but the means by which the policy-makers seek to achieve this objective. The imposition of Western constructions of children and childhood whether by means of coercive injunctions or subtle inducements is unethical and imprudent, and may rather undermine the expressed objective of optimal development outcomes for children (Clerk, 2011; Laird, 2012). As other scholars have pointed out, the child labor policies as they stand now may rather worsen the living conditions of the very children they are intended to help (Clerk, 2011; Laird, 2012). The structure of the current ILO child labor Conventions, and the Ghana Children's Act, with respect to their age frameworks, translate into the delegitimization and criminalization of some indigenous cultural practices (Laird, 2012; Nsamenang, 2008). This does not imply that I wantonly endorse all cultural practices as good. I consider cultural practices such as Trokosi unacceptable. I also believe the exploitation of children through acts such as trafficking are wrong and should be duly criminalized.

The distinction between different age levels and the categorization of permissible activities in ILO Conventions C138 and C182 may be considered to be part of the ILO's admittance of each country's unique situation hence the need for some flexibility in the application of the ILO standards. The findings show that these differential age-based frameworks are premised on the socioeconomic status of the countries concerned. Thus, for low income countries children as young as 12 may work whereas for high income countries that cannot be the case. Being premised on socioeconomic indicators, this framework fails to take sufficient account of cultural factors. That is not to say that there is a complete disregard for culture in the development of the ILO Conventions. However, the cultural factors that are at play are not those of countries like Ghana. Rather, it is a Western cultural framework that underlies the ILO's child labor standards (Clerk, 2011; Nordtveit, 2011). Had consideration been given to the cultural factors and sociological realities of countries like Ghana, the age limits in the ILO Conventions and the Ghana Children's Act would have been different. Likewise, the ECOWAS RAP would have articulated a different vision for the elimination of the worst forms of child labor in West Africa. The paradox here is that neither Ghana nor ECOWAS is in complete control over the formulation of their development agendas for children.

In studying child labor, one ought to realize that early child work or employment does not always entail the curtailing of the rights of children. Rather, as noted by Clerk (2011), and Nieuwenhuys (1996), it may be a manifestation of their autonomy and capacity for independent action. Some children engage in such work of their own accord. Early child work is also an integral part of children's development as it fosters their cognitive development and the acquisition of motor skills (Clerk, 2011; Kim et al., 2008;

Laird, 2012; Nsamenang, 2008). Thus, some may argue that keeping children out of work may in itself be a denial of children's rights to, and opportunities for optimal development (Nieuwenhuys, 1996).

One of the interesting findings of this study was that some of the early motivations for child labor laws centered on the need to provide more job opportunities for soldiers returning from the First World War (Maul, 2012). Also, following the Bolshevik Revolution fears of the revolution spreading to other parts of Europe compelled law-makers to restrict the involvement of children in economic activities in order to create more opportunities for adults who may have obviously been seen as more of a threat (Maul, 2012). This history, and the history of bias in world affairs surrounding various issues such as trade and security, and what is perceived to be the deliberate misrepresentation of non-Western countries and people are some of the factors that cause some scholars and diplomats to question whether the ILO Conventions are really aimed at helping countries like Ghana (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Bachmann, 2000; Laird, 2012; Smolin, 1999). Some see it as a way for the West to exert its influence in global affairs and gain advantage in global trade (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Bachmann, 2000; Smolin, 1999).

Overall, the findings of this study highlight some of the core assumptions of ecological systems theory and postcolonial theory. In regards to ecological systems theory, the findings clearly show the potential micro-level implications of macro-level factors such as policy-making. As revealed in the sociocultural practice and textual analyses, the prohibition of child labor results in a theoretical redefinition of the nature of childhood as well as how children should be raised. Kuyini and Mahama's findings

(2009) which I have already alluded to reveal the practical impact of such macro-level practices – the changing of traditional and customary approaches to childrearing.

Therefore, children and families are impacted by distal political processes.

In regards to postcolonial theory, I have already mentioned how relations of domination are reproduced in modern times. However, I would reiterate that the findings of this study reveal the complex and subtle manifestations of unequal power relations through discursive practices. This is best demonstrated in the sociocultural practice analysis which revealed the dominance of Western paradigms in the ILO.

Study Implications

The implications of this study relating to practice, research, and education are discussed below. The discussion of the implications is basically tied to social work though other professionals and human service providers may find them applicable to their fields.

Implications for Practice. Social workers need to pay increased attention to how their actions may contribute to the “othering” of countries and people, and how they promote the extension of hegemonies when Western models and conceptions of children and childhood are presented as the pristine ideals all others should aspire to. Though there is widespread advocacy about the ills of child labor in developing countries, people generally fail to interrogate the assumptions and discourses surrounding child labor. A more critical outlook needs to be adopted in order to ensure the best outcomes for children. Historically, child labor has often been associated with poverty but social workers and other professionals need to recognize the diverse range of factors – political,

social, economic and cultural – underlying child work practices in order to ensure the optimal development of children.

On a macro level, in the social and human development arena, social workers can act to level the field by addressing power differentials, and helping give poor countries the voice and the platform for making their views heard. This will be a way of ensuring that the governments of developing countries like Ghana do not end up in situations where their development priorities become subject to those of their foreign counterparts or donor countries.

In relation to this, social workers can also drive the indigenization of child labor policies to ensure there is some balance in the presentation of the issue, and that the perspectives of locals are also taken into account. They can do so by increasing their knowledge base and becoming more attuned to the various discourses that exist in global and local contexts. The findings of this study can help social workers promote alternative views. Policies ought to be holistic, encompassing the social, cultural, political, and local economic contexts rather than being framed by predominantly monetarist and economic frameworks (Basu & Van, 1998; Grier, 2004).

Implications for Research. One of the ideals of the social work profession is a commitment to good scholarship and research (NASW, 2008). The implications for research are two-fold. On the practice side, social workers can advocate for quality and unbiased scholarship on the issue of child labor. This will contribute to the realization of the profession's objectives such as promoting cultural competence, self-determination, and the empowerment of clients. For social workers engaged in research, there needs to be a commitment to understand how global relations perpetuate inequalities. The hope is

that social workers will critically interrogate and examine the assumptions of international conventions, as well as the policymakers responsible for their development. More in-depth reviews of the work of global institutions like the ILO, United Nations, the World Bank and IMF need to be conducted (Abebe & Bessell, 2011). Instead of using the West's technical and financial power to subvert other social constructions, can multiple social constructions co-exist with a focus on ensuring the best interests of the child?

Implications for Social Work Education. Social work students at all levels need to be attuned to diverse local and global perspectives. Courses on international social work and development are needed where they are absent. The content of such courses where they are available may also need some revision. Razack (2009) states that “critical attention is needed to understand how we teach global issues, how we introduce content on particular topics, how students interpret and integrate the knowledge, whose voices are silenced and, more importantly, what gets discussed and what is erased” (p. 9). This is necessary to ensure that classrooms do not get colonized. There is the need for courses that critically look at current incarnations and manifestations of colonial relations among countries. In relation to this, there is a need for students to better understand overt and covert demonstrations of power in international relations and how that may impact welfare policies. It is also imperative to increase students' understanding and appreciation of diverse cultural constructs.

Limitations

The main limitation of this study was the sole use of textual data and archival research. In focusing mainly on textual data, a lot of valuable details and insight that could have been gained from other forms of discourse may have been missed. Also, in

conforming to literary rules and the conventions of their genres, documents may sometimes omit certain details through various means such as paraphrasing or editing. This may be done in order to be concise or have a particular form or style. Unfortunately, this results in situations where the realities of a phenomenon or an issue are not fully conveyed or presented. Thus, it is possible for some pertinent details that would have furthered understanding of an issue to be eliminated due to the adherence to textual conventions and formats.

For example, the background details surrounding the Ghana Children's Act are not found in the document itself. Likewise, the ILO Conventions do not present the discussions and background details about the process of their development. Such details are essential to our understanding of the discourses on child labor especially the relations of power among the various actors. To develop that understanding a review of other documents was necessary but that posed another limitation - accessibility to documents. In relation to this, the analyses of sociocultural practice and discourse practice presented findings and offered leads that necessitated a review of other documents. However, some of those documents were unavailable in the public domain. Their review would have added to the depth of my analysis and discussion. For instance, a review of the Parliamentary Hansard on the Ghana Children's Act would have brought to the fore the deliberations of Ghana's policy-makers concerning the Act. This would have potentially engendered a deeper understanding of the factors and considerations that informed Ghana's child labor policy.

There was another limitation resulting from the methodological framework used for the study. The findings of this study are not generalizable owing to the use of a non-

probability sampling method (Glesne, 2006; Padgett, 2008). However, the findings are transferrable and applicable to other contexts especially developing countries where child labor is a common practice, and countries with a cultural tapestry similar to Ghana's. In view of these limitations it is important to note that reports and applications of the findings will have to be contextualized.

Future Research Directions

In consideration of the limitations noted above, future studies can incorporate in-depth interviews with local policymakers and other actors such as representatives of donor agencies and countries involved in the establishment of child labor and other related policies. Such interviews can produce data that will make up for the deficiencies of a solely textual approach. Further, direct field observation and ethnographic studies can also aid in proper comparative analysis between policies and local realities. The findings relating to Ghana suggest a discontinuity between what is presented in the legislation on child labor and what pertains in the local communities. Thus, data from such studies can inform accurate and representative discourses on the social constructions of children and childhood in Ghana and other countries.

Future studies can also cover the child labor policies of other ILO member countries to examine how they have domesticated the ILO's Conventions and how that relates to the welfare and well-being of children. Also, Community Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) present an expansive and inclusive approach for understanding phenomena, and developing knowledge (Padgett, 2008), and may be better suited for studying child labor and developing effective policies.

Finally, beyond child labor, this study draws attention to the general relevance of discourses on children and the nature of childhood. The social and political constructions of children and childhood have implications not only for child welfare/well-being but also for the growth and development of families in various contexts. For instance, in the context of immigrant and refugee populations, the interface between the cultural and legal constructions of children and childhood in their countries of origin and those of the host country have implications for family life and development.

Conclusion

Generally, concerns about the well-being of children are warranted especially when they are involved in activities or placed in situations that make them susceptible to harm. In Ghana, official statistics and documentary evidence of child fatalities in child labor are usually hard to come by. However, as noted in the GLSS6, a large number of children sustain injuries as a result of their involvement in child labor (GSS, 2014). I am therefore not dismissive of the negative effects of child labor. Attention needs to be given to children's involvement in work activities, both commercial and non-commercial, that are inimical to their well-being.

However, biased and inaccurate presentations of various dimensions of the child labor problem, as demonstrated by the findings of this study, will undermine efforts aimed at addressing the issue. Child labor discourse, and analyses that remain inattentive to the cultural interactions in the global political and social landscape will be ineffective in addressing the problem (Abebe & Bessell, 2011; Nordtveit, 2010; Pierik & Houwerzijl, 2006). In this regard, it is imperative that attention is given to social, cultural, and traditional factors in order to ensure the development of comprehensive and effective

solutions (Amin, 2014; Chirwa, 1993; Nordtveit, 2010; Nsamenang, 2008; Scott, 1998). Furthermore, serious consideration needs to be given to countering the institutional hegemony of organizations such as the ILO, as well as creating platforms for genuinely balanced interactions with donor countries and agencies (Laird, 2012).

Scott (1998) emphasizes the relevance and need for local and experiential knowledge, termed *metis*, in addressing problems or responding to societal changes. We must acknowledge and harness the power of informal rules and social customs to ensure optimum outcomes in developing appropriate and effective solutions to social problems (Scott, 1998). The assumption or belief that formal rules/legislation and regimented approaches are the sole means of achieving success (in addressing the child labor phenomenon) is inaccurate. As indicated by Nsamenang (2008) there is the tendency for foreign experts to label local practices and forms of knowledge negatively. Also, as revealed by Laird (2012) and Takyi-Amoako (2010), the collaborations and partnerships with donor countries and agencies for policy development can become a means of control and the displacement of local priorities. Formal, universal and homogenized conceptions such as the ILO's child labor standards should not be developed, and should not be applied without regard to the particularities of local or domestic communities.

Further, political and economic reforms that bring about a balance in power are pivotal to addressing child labor issues. This is very important considering that one of the key findings of this study was the ILO's hegemony in child labor discourse and the development of child labor policies. A look at the discursive practices surrounding child labor, and a critical review of how child labor is framed in policy documents will be a

positive step in ensuring a balanced understanding of such a complex problem if we are effectively going to address it.

Additionally, serious attention needs to be given to the review of the pedagogical content and structure of training programs for various professionals to ensure that classrooms do not become sites for the enactment or re-enactment of domination and hegemony (Razack, 2009; Tamburro, 2013). In particular regard to social work, this study underscores the need for courses oriented towards global issues, and the critical examination of how political and economic interactions at that level impact social phenomena.

APPENDICES

Appendix A. Primary Documents Examined

| Title of Document | Weblink |
|--|---|
| 1. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C005 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 2. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention, 1920 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C007 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 3. Minimum Age (Agriculture) Convention, 1921 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C010 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 4. Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stokers) Convention, 1921 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312160:NO (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 5. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C033 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |

| | |
|---|---|
| | link) |
| 6. Minimum Age (Sea) Convention (Revised), 1936 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C058 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 7. Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C059 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 8. Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention (Revised), 1937 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C060 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 9. Minimum Age (Fishermen) Convention, 1959 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C112 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 10. Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C123 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |

| | |
|---|---|
| 11. Minimum Age Convention, 1973 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C138 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 12. Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention, 1999 | http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_ILO_CODE:C182 (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 13. African Union Children's Charter | http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/Charter En African Charter on the Rights and Wlefare of the Child AddisAbaba July1990.pdf (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 14. ECOWAS Regional Action Plan | http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-africa/documents/publication/wcms_227737.pdf (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
| 15. Harkin-Engel Protocol | http://www.cocoainitiative.org/en/documents-manager/english/54-harkin-engel-protocol/file (Please copy and paste link into internet browser) |

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 16. Ghana Children's Act | http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/-ed_protect/---protrav/---ilo_aids/documents/legaldocument/wcms181175.pdf (Ctrl+Click to follow link) |
|--------------------------|---|

Appendix B. Fairclough's List for Textual Analysis

| Categories | Guiding Questions |
|------------|---|
| Vocabulary | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What experiential values do words have? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What classification schemes are drawn upon? • Is there rewording or over-wording? • What ideologically significant meaning relations (synonymy, hyponymy, antonymy) are there between words? 2. What relational values do words have? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there euphemistic expressions? • Are there markedly formal or informal words? 3. What expressive values do words have? 4. What metaphors are used? |

| | |
|---------|---|
| Grammar | <p>5. What experiential values do grammatical features have?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What type of process and participant predominate? • Is agency unclear? • Are processes what they seem? • Are nominalizations used? • Are sentences active or passive? • Are sentences negative or positive? <p>6. What relational values do grammatical features have?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What modes (declarative, grammatical question, imperative) are used? • Are there important features of relational modality? • Are the pronouns <i>we</i> and <i>you</i> used, and if so, how? <p>7. What expressive values do grammatical features have?</p> |
|---------|---|

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there important features of expressive modality? <p>8. How are (simple) sentences linked together?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What logical connectors are used? • Are complex sentences characterized by coordination or subordination? • What means are used for referring inside and outside the text? |
| Textual Structures | <p>9. What interactional conventions are used?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are there ways in which one participant controls the turns of others? <p>10. What larger-scale structures does the text have?</p> |

Appendix C. The Discourse Relational Approach Analytical Framework

1. Focus upon a social problem which has a semiotic aspect.
2. Identify obstacles to it being tackled, through analysis of
 - a. the network of practices it is located within
 - b. the relationship of semiosis to other elements within the particular practice(s) concerned
 - c. the discourse (the semiosis itself)
 - structural analysis: the order of discourse
 - interactional analysis
 - interdiscursive analysis
 - linguistic and semiotic analysis.
3. Consider whether the social order (network of practices) in a sense 'needs' the problem.
4. Identify possible ways past the obstacles.
5. Reflect critically on the analysis (1- 4).

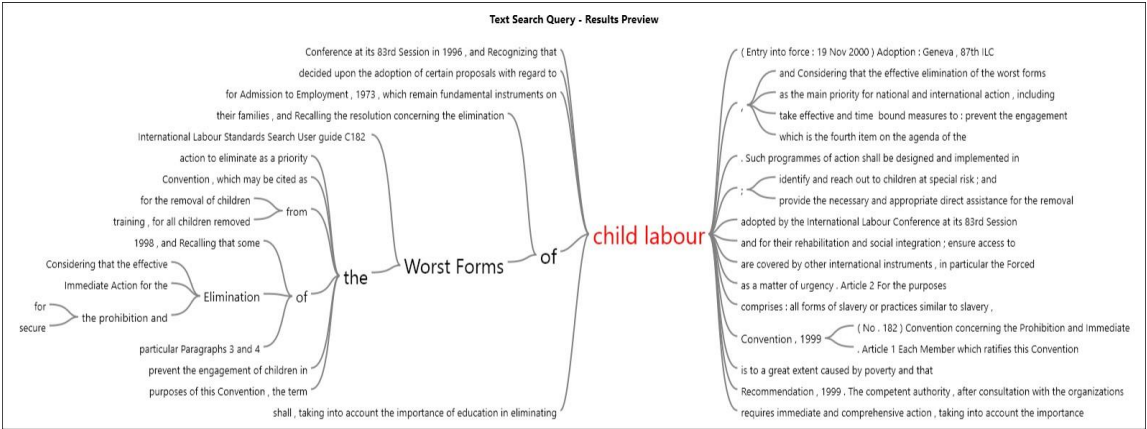
Appendix D.

ILO Convention C138



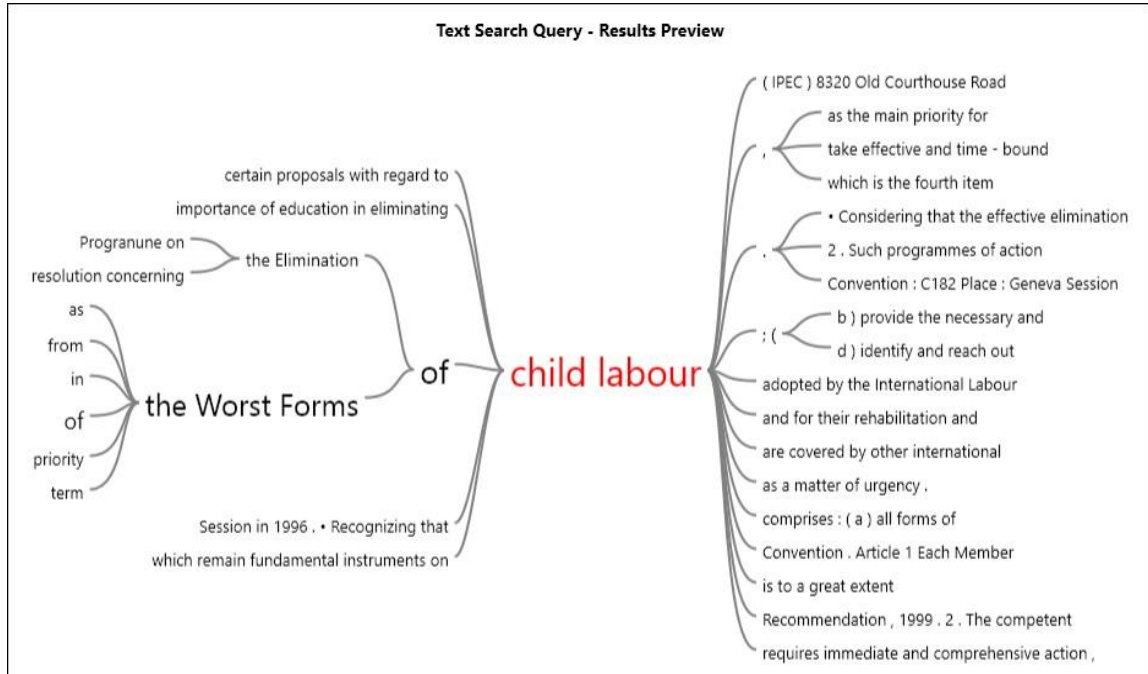
Appendix E.

ILO Convention C182



Appendix F.

Harkin-Engel Protocol



Appendix G.

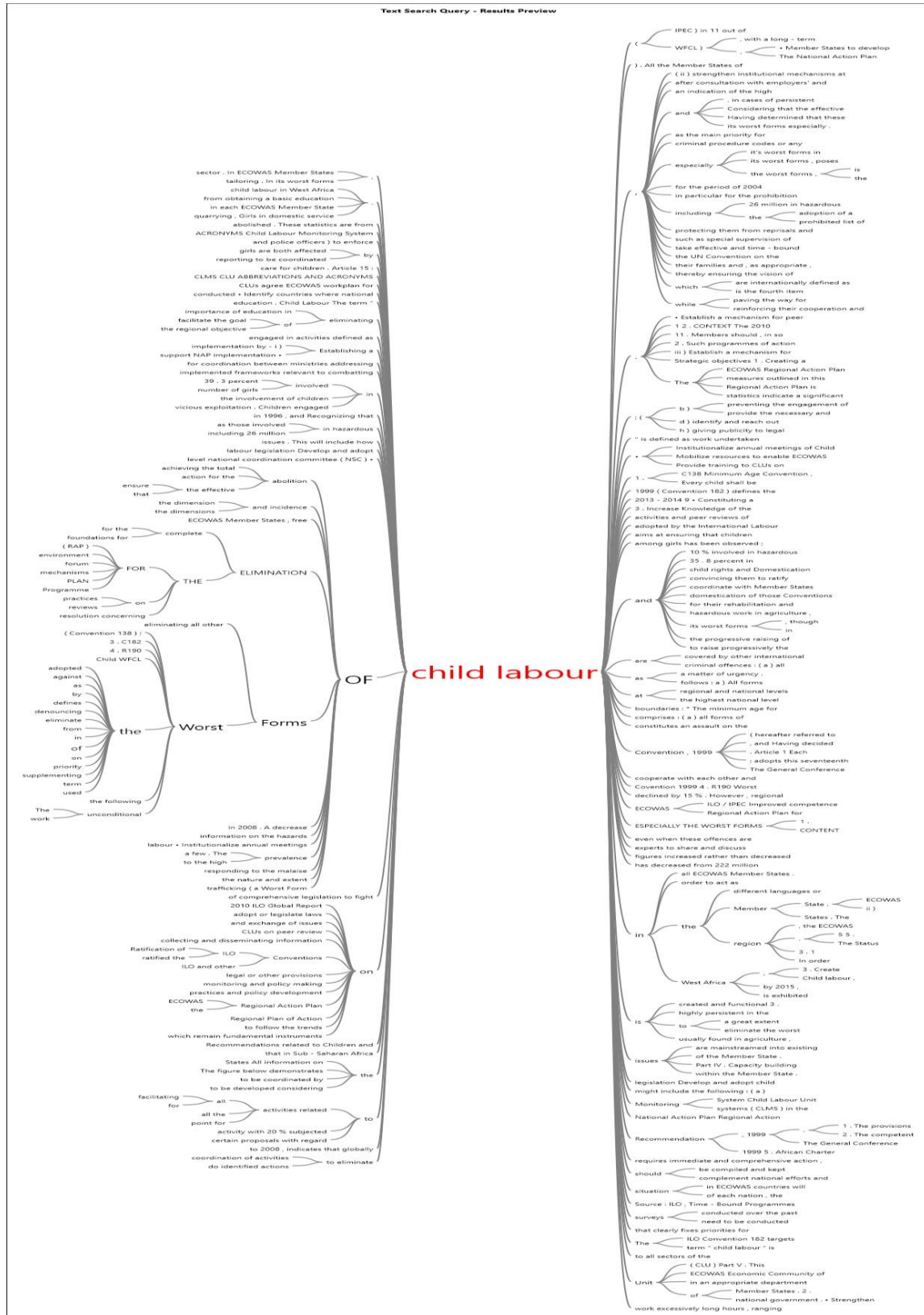
African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child (ACRWC)



Appendix H.

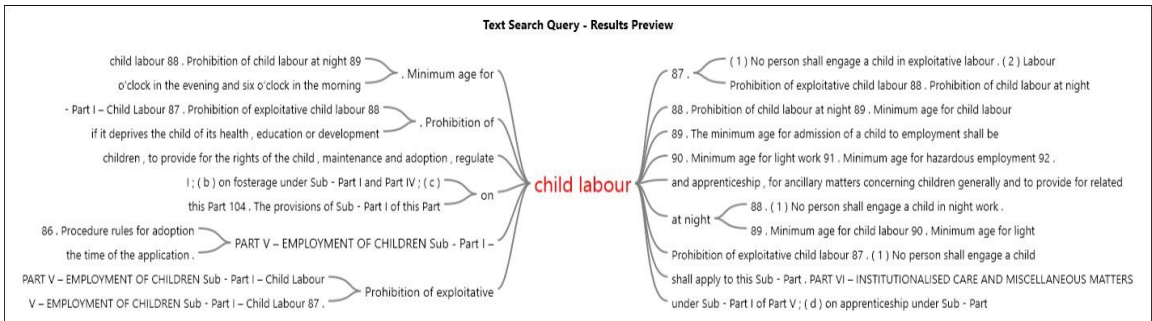
Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child





Appendix J.

Ghana Children’s Act 1998 (Act 560)



REFERENCES

- Abebe, T., & Bessell, S. (2011). Dominant discourses, debates and silences on child labour in Africa and Asia. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(4), 765-786.
- Adhvaryu, A. R., & Nyshadham, A. (2012). Schooling, child labor, and the returns to healthcare in Tanzania. *Journal of Human Resources*, 47(2), 364-396.
- Admassie, A. (2002). Explaining the high incidence of child labour in Sub-Saharan Africa. *African Development Review/Revue Africaine De Developpement*, 14(2), 251-275.
- African Committee of Experts on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. (2015). Reservations. Retrieved from <http://acerwc.org/reservations/>
- Agyemang, T. (2006). Reconceptualizing child sexual exploitation as a bias crime under the Protect Act. *Cardozo Women*, 12, 937-1033.
- Ahluwalia, D. S. (2002). *Politics and post-colonial theory: African inflections*. London: Routledge.
- Ahluwalia, P. (2010). Post-structuralism's colonial roots: Michel Foucault. *Social Identities*, 16(5), 597-606.
- Akabayashi, H., & Psacharopoulos, G. (1999). The trade-off between child labour and human capital formation: A Tanzanian case study. *Journal of Development Studies*, 35(5), 120.
- Ameh, R. K. (2001). *Child bondage in Ghana: A contextual policy analysis of Trokosi*. (Doctoral dissertation, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C. Canada). Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Canciones/Downloads/Ameh%20R%20K%202001_NQ81627.pdf

- Amin, S. (2013). *The implosion of contemporary capitalism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Amin, S. (2014). *Capitalism in the age of globalization: The management of contemporary society*. London: Zed Books.
- Amin, S., & Mage, S. (2005, June). A note on the death of Andre Gunder Frank (1929-2005). *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*. p. 1.
- Ananga, E., & Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity. (2011). Dropping out of school in southern Ghana: The push-out and pull-out factors. CREATE Pathways to Access. Research Monograph No. 55.
- Annisette, M. (2004). The true nature of the World Bank. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 15(3), 303-323.
- Anti-slavery International (2012). Annual review. Retrieved from http://www.antislavery.org/includes/documents/cm_docs/2013/a/ar2012.pdf
- Arat, Z. (2002). Analyzing child labor as a human rights issue: Its causes, aggravating policies, and alternative proposals. *Human Rights Quarterly*, 24(1), 177-204.
- Aries, P. (1962). *Centuries of childhood*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Arku, J. (2013, October 7). 3000 children rescued from child labour. Retrieved from <http://graphic.com.gh/news/general-news/870-3-000-children-rescued-from-child-labour.html>
- Arnett, J. (2001). Conceptions of the transition to adulthood: Perspectives from adolescence through midlife. *Journal of Adult Development*, 8(2), 133-143.
- Arnold, K. D., Lu, E. C., & Armstrong, K. J. (2012a). Exosystem: The site of systemic and structural changes. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 38(5), 59-75.

- Arnold, K. D., Lu, E. C., & Armstrong, K. J. (2012b). Macrosystem: The arena of culture and ideology. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 38(5), 77-82.
- Asare, K. (2009). Education: Training, retraining and retaining teachers in Ghana (Part 1). Retrieved from <http://opinion.myjoyonline.com/pages/feature/200904/28781.php>.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (2013). *Post-colonial studies: The key concepts*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Askehave, I. (2007). The impact of marketization on higher education genres - the international student prospectus as a case in point. *Discourse Studies*, 9(6), 723-742.
- Asuming-Brempong, S., Sarpong, D. B., Amoo, P., & Asenso-Okyere, K. (2007). Labour practices in cocoa production in Ghana (Pilot survey). National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa (NPECLC). Retrieved from: <http://www.cocoainitiative.org/en/documents-manager/english/40-mmye-pilot-labour-survey-in-cocoa-production/file>
- Athreya, B., & Newman, T. (2009). Slaves to chocolate. *New Internationalist*, (421), 12.
- Audu, B., Geidam, A., & Jarma, H. (2009). Child labor and sexual assault among girls in Maiduguri, Nigeria. *International Journal of Gynecology & Obstetrics*, 104(1), 64-67.
- Awake. (2003). Akan proverbs: A mirror on social norms. Retrieved from <http://wol.jw.org/en/wol/d/r1/lp-e/102003206>
- Baah, Y., Otoo, Y. N., Osei-Boateng, C., Awurusa, H., Bogobiri, M. S., Duncan-Adanusa, I., & Antwi, D. A. (2010). Teacher attrition in Ghana: Results of a

- questionnaire survey 2009. Retrieved from [http://download.ei-](http://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/GNAT_2010_TEACHER_ATTRITION__REPORT.pdf)
[ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/GNAT_2010_TEACHER_ATTRITION__REPORT.pdf](http://download.ei-ie.org/Docs/WebDepot/GNAT_2010_TEACHER_ATTRITION__REPORT.pdf)
- Baccini, L., & Koenig-Archibugi, M. (2012). Why do states commit to international labor standards? The importance of 'rivalry' and 'friendship'. Retrieved from http://www.lse.ac.uk/government/research/resgroups/PSPE/pdf/PSPE_WP1_11.pdf
- Bachman, S. L. (2000). The political economy of child labor and its impacts on international Business. *Business Economics*, 35(3), 30-41.
- Barry, A., & Honore, H. (2009). Everyday theory: A practical application of the ecological perspective. *American Journal of Health Education*, 40(6), 368-372.
- Barusch, A. S. (2012). *Foundations of social policy: Social justice in human perspective*. United States: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Basu, K. (1999). Child labor: Cause, consequence, and cure, with remarks on international labor standards. *Journal of Economic Literature*, 37(3), 1083-1119.
- Basu, K., & Van, P. H. (1998). The economics of child labor. *American Economic Review*, 88, 412-427.
- Bax, P. (2012, October 8). Ghana's gold sparks conflict with illegal Chinese miners. Retrieved from <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-10-08/ghana-s-gold-sparks-conflict-with-illegal-chinese-miners.html>
- Beegle, K., Dehejia, R., & Gatti, R. (2009). Why should we care about child labor? The education, labor market, and health consequences of child labor. *Journal of Human Resources*, 44(4), 871-889.

- Bezerra, M. E., Kassouf, A. L., & Arends-Kuenning, M. (2009). The impact of child labor and school quality on academic achievement in Brazil. IZA Discussion Paper No. 4062. Retrieved from <http://ftp.iza.org/dp4062.pdf>
- Birks, M., Chapman, Y., & Francis, K. (2008). Memoing in qualitative research: Probing data and processes. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 13(1), 68-75.
- Blagbrough, J., (2008). Child domestic labour: A modern form of slavery. *Children & Society*, 22, 179–190.
- Blommaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29(1), 447-466.
- Bøås, M., & Hatløy, A. (2008). Child labour in West Africa: Different work – Different vulnerabilities. *International Migration*, 46(3), 3-25.
- Boahen, A. A. (1987). *African perspectives on colonialism*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Boozer, M., & Suri, T. (2001). Child labor and schooling decisions in Ghana. *Yale University, manuscript*.
- Breeze, R. (2011). Critical discourse analysis and its critics. *Pragmatics* 21, 493-525.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1977). Toward an experimental ecology of human development. *American Psychologist*, 32(7), 513-531.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1993). Ecological models of human development. In T. Husen & T. N. Postlethwaite (Eds.). *The International Encyclopedia of Education* (2nd ed., pp. 1643-1647). New York, NY: Elsevier Science.

- Bronfenbrenner, U. & Ceci, S. J. (1994). Nature-nurture reconceptualized in developmental perspective: A biological model. *Psychological Review*, 101, 568-586.
- Brofenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In Damon, W., & Lerner, R. M. (Eds.). *Handbook of child psychology* (pp. 793-828). Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bühler-Niederberger, D. (2010). Childhood sociology in ten countries: Current outcomes and future directions. *Current Sociology*, 58(2), 369-384.
- Bulatao, R. (Ed.), & Anderson, N. (Ed.). (2004). *Understanding racial and ethnic differences in health in late life: A research agenda*. National Academies Press, Washington, DC.
- Burnette, J. (2012). Child day-labourers in agriculture: Evidence from farm accounts, 1740-1850¹. *Economic History Review*, 65(3), 1077-1099.
- Butler, N. M. (1934a). Preface. In Shotwell, J. T. (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. vii – ix). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Butler, H. B. (1934b). The Washington conference. In Shotwell, J. T. (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp.305–330). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Cameron, D. (2001). *Working with spoken discourse*. London: Sage.
- Cardoso, A. R., & Verner, D. (2006). School drop-out and push-out factors in Brazil: The role of early parenthood, child labor, and poverty (December 2006). IZA Discussion Paper No. 2515.

- Carter, D. L. (2011). *Multimodal critical discourse analysis of systematically distorted communication in intercountry adoption industry websites*. (Doctoral dissertation, Washington State University). Retrieved from http://research.wsulibs.wsu.edu/xmlui/bitstream/handle/2376/3502/Carter_wsu_0251E_10296.pdf?sequence=1
- Central Intelligence Agency. (2014). *The world fact book: Guide to country comparisons*. Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/rankorder/rankorderguide.html>
- Chehade, G. (2013). *Anti-terrorism discourse and the war on dissent: A critical analysis*. (Doctoral dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, Canada). Retrieved from http://digitool.library.mcgill.ca/webclient/StreamGate?folder_id=0&dvs=1459561376954~625
- Chirwa, W. C. (1993). Child and youth labour on the Nyasaland plantations, 1890-1953. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19(4), 662-680.
- Clark, A., & Gow, H. R. (2011, July). Public and private institutional responses to advocacy attacks: The case of the global cocoa industry and child labour abuse. In *2011 Annual Meeting, July 24-26, 2011, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania* (No. 104726). Agricultural and Applied Economics Association.
- Clark-Bennett, R., Hodne, C., & Sherer, J. (2004). Child labor and health: Adult education workshop. Child Labor Publication Education Project. Child Labor Research Initiative University of Iowa Labor Center. Retrieved from https://www.continuetolearn.uiowa.edu/laborctr/child_labor/materials/documents/CLPEP_healthhandouts.pdf

- Clerk, G. (2011). Global Concern and Local Reality. In Ame, R. A., Agbenyiga, D. L., & Apt, N.A. (Eds). *Children's Rights in Ghana: Reality Or Rhetoric?*, (pp. 99-111). Plymouth: Lexington Books.
- Commonwealth Secretariat. (2012). Report of the Commonwealth observer group: Ghana presidential and parliamentary elections. Retrieved from <http://thecommonwealth.org/sites/default/files/news-items/documents/121207.pdf>
- Conrad, S. (2012). The colonial ties are liquidated: Modernization theory, post-war Japan and the global cold war. *Past & Present*, 216(1), 181-214.
- Dar, A., Blunch, N. H., Kim, B., & Sasaki, M. (2002). Participation of children in schooling and labor activities: A review of empirical studies. *World Bank, Social Protection Discussion Paper*, 221.
- Daza, S. L., & Tuck, E. (2014). De/colonizing, (post) (anti)colonial, and indigenous education, studies, and theories. *Educational Studies*, 50(4), 307-312.
- de Salvo, M. (2013). *Mobile discourses: A critical discourse analysis on reports of intergovernmental organizations recommending mobile phones for development*. (Doctoral dissertation, London School of Economics, London, England). Retrieved from <http://www.lse.ac.uk/media@lse/research/mediaWorkingPapers/MScDissertationSeries/2012/82.pdf>
- Del Carpio, X. V., & Loayza, N. V. (2012). The impact of wealth on the amount and quality of child labor. Policy Research Working Paper. The World Bank Development Research Group Macroeconomics and Growth Team. Retrieved from: <http://www->

wds.worldbank.org/external/default/WDSContentServer/IW3P/IB/2012/01/30/00
0158349_20120130155316/Rendered/PDF/WPS5959.pdf

Delevingne, M. (1934). The organizing committee. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. 19-54). New York: Columbia University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Derby, N. C. (2012). Are the barrels empty? Are the children any safer? Child domestic labor and servitude in Ghana. In Ensor, M. O. (Ed.). *African childhoods: Education, development, peacebuilding, and the youngest continent* (pp. 19 – 32). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Devi, K., & Roy, G. (2008). Study of child labor among school children in urban and rural areas of Pondicherry. *Indian Journal of Community Medicine: Official Publication of Indian Association of Preventive & Social Medicine*, 33(2), 116–118.

Diallo, Y., Hagemann, F., Etienne, A., Gurbuzer, Y., & Mehran, F. (2010). *Global child labour developments: Measuring trends from 2004 to 2008*. International Labour Office, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) - Geneva: ILO.

Diallo, Y., Etienne, A. & Mehran, F. (2013). *Global child labour trends 2008 to 2012*. International Labour Office, International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour (IPEC) - Geneva: ILO.

- Dillon, A., Bardasi, E., Beegle, K., & Serneels, P. (2012). Explaining variation in child labor statistics. *Journal of Development Economics*, 98(1), 136-147.
- Doerr, A. D. (1974, May). The role of white papers in the policy-making process: The experience of the government of Canada. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 34, 7314.
- Doepke, M., & Zilibotti, F. (2009). International labor standards and the political economy of child-labor regulation. *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 7(2/3), 508-518.
- Dreher, A., & Sturm, J. E. (2012). Do the IMF and the World Bank influence voting in the UN General Assembly?. *Public Choice*, 151(1-2), 363-397.
- Durotoye, Y., & Griffiths, R. J. (1997). Civilianizing military rule: Conditions and processes of political transmutation in Ghana and Nigeria. *African Studies Review*, 40(3), 133 – 160.
- Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) Regional Action Plan, (RAP). (2013). Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/addisababa/technical-cooperation/clic-africa/WCMS_227737/lang--en/index.htm
- Edmonds, E. V. (2007). Child labor, IZA discussion papers, No. 2606. Retrieved from <http://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/33852/1/543747247.pdf>
- Edmonds, E. V., & Pavcnik, N. (2005). Child Labor in the global economy. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 19(1), 199-220.
- Eltringham, N. (2006). 'Invaders who have stolen the country': The Hamitic hypothesis, race and the Rwandan genocide. *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*, 12(4), 425-446.

- Emerson, P. M., & Souza, A. P. (2011). Is child labor harmful? The impact of working earlier in life on adult earnings. *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 59(2), 345-385.
- Ennew, J. (2000). The history of children's rights: Whose story? *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, 24(2). Retrieved from <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/ourpublications/csq/article/the-history-childrens-rights-whose-story>.
- Ensor, M. (2012). *African childhoods: Education, development, peacebuilding, and the youngest continent*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Estacio, E. V., & Marks, D. F. (2005). Child labour and the International Labour Organization's Convention 182: A critical perspective. *Journal of health psychology*, 10(3), 475-484.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and social change*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Media discourse*. London: E. Arnold.
- Fairclough, N. (1995b). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. New York: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (2001). Critical discourse analysis as a method in social scientific research. In Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (Eds). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 121-137). London: SAGE.
- Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing discourse: Textual analysis for social science research*. New York: Routledge.

- Ferraro, V. (2008). Dependency theory: An introduction. In G. Secondi (Ed.), *The development economics reader* (pp. 58-64). London and New York: Taylor & Francis, Routledge.
- Fors, H. (2012). Child labour: A review of recent theory and evidence with policy implications. *Journal of Economic Surveys*, 26(4), 570-593.
- Frank, S. (n.d). Analysis: Chocolate and child slave labor. *Talk of the Nation (NPR)*.
- Frimpong, D. E. (2013, April 16). Control galamsey menace now. Retrieved from <http://graphic.com.gh/editorials/11828-control-galamsey-menace-now.html>
- Gadri, S. A (2010). *The revealed myths about Trokosi slavery: Human rights violation*. Bloomington: Author House.
- Gentile, G. (2005, November 17). Firestone accused of using slave labor. *Associated Press*.
- Ghana Children's Act, 1998 [Act 560]. Retrieved from <http://ghanalegal.com/?id=3&law=110&t=ghana-laws>
- Ghana News Agency. (2010). Low wages, poor conditions cause teacher attrition – report general news of Thursday, 11 February 2010. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=176536>.
- Ghana News Agency. (2011, July 28). Farmers asked to stop using child labour. Retrieved from <http://www.ghananewsagency.org/social/farmers-asked-to-stop-child-labour--31630>
- Ghana News Agency. (2012, June 30). Many children to vote in this year's elections - Action for sustainable development report. Retrieved from

<http://www.ghananewsagency.org/politics/many-children-to-vote-in-this-year-s-election-asudev-report-45699>.

Ghana News Agency. (2014, June 6). Decline in child labour – ILO. Retrieved from <http://www.citifmonline.com/2014/06/06/decline-in-number-of-child-labourers-ilo/#sthash.kDLLyyHA.dpbs>

Ghana Statistical Service. (2012). *2010 population and housing census: Summary report of final results*. Accra: Sakoa Press.

Ghana Statistical Service. (2013). 2010 population and housing census report: Children, adolescents and young people in Ghana. Retrieved from http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/publications/2010phc_children_adolescents_&young_people_in_Gh.pdf

Ghana Statistical Service. (2014). Ghana living standards survey round 6 (GLSS6). Retrieved from http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/glss6/GLSS6_Main%20Report.pdf

Ghanaweb. (2012, July 19). Amansie West residents in bloody clash with Chinese illegal miners. Retrieved from <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=245209>.

Gharaibeh, M., & Hoeman, S. (2003). Health hazards and risks for abuse among child labor in Jordan. *Journal of Pediatric Nursing*, 18(2), 140-147.

Ghebali, V., Ago, R., & Valticos, N. (1989). *The International Labour Organisation: A case study on the evolution of U.N. specialised agencies*. Dordrecht: M. Nijhoff.

Glesne, C. (2006). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction*. Boston, MA: Pearson.

Government of Ghana. (n.d.). About Ghana. Retrieved from
<http://www.ghana.gov.gh/index.php/about-ghana/ghana-at-a-glance>

Gramsci, A., & Boothman, D. (1995). *Further selections from the prison notebooks*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Greenfield, P. M., & Cocking, R. R. (1994). *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development*. Hillsdale, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates.

Grier, B. (2004). Child labor and Africanist scholarship: A critical overview. *African Studies Review*, 47(2), 1-25.

Grossmann, H., & Michaelis, J. (2007). Trade sanctions and the incidence of child labor. *Review of Development Economics*, 11 (1), 49-62.

Gupta, M. R. (2002). Trade sanctions, adult unemployment and the supply of child labour: A theoretical analysis. *Development Policy Review*, 20(3), 317-332.

Haig, E. (2004). Some observations on the critique of critical discourse analysis. *Studies in language and culture*, 25(2), 129-149.

Haig, E. (2012). A critical discourse analysis and systemic functional linguistics approach to measuring participant power in a radio news bulletin about youth crime. *Studies in Media and Society*, 4, 45-73.

Halliday, M. A. (1976). *System and function in language: Selected papers*. G. Kress (Ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hanappi, H., & Hanappi-Egger, E. (2013). Gramsci meets Veblen: On the search for a new revolutionary class. *Journal of Economic Issues*, 47(2), 375-382.

- Hansungule, M. (2012). The African charter on human and peoples' rights. In A.A. Yusuf & F. Ouguergouz (Eds.), *The African Union: Legal and institutional framework. A manual on the Pan-African Organization* (pp. 417 – 453). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Hart, C. (2010). *Critical discourse analysis and cognitive science: New perspectives on immigration discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Harkin-Engel Protocol. (2001, September 1). Retrieved from <http://harkin.senate.gov/documents/pdf/HarkinEngelProtocol.pdf>.
- Hawksley, H. (2001, February 8). Ghana's trapped slaves. Retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/from_our_own_correspondent/1158115.stm
- Healy, L. M. (2007). Universalism and cultural relativism in social work ethics. *International Social Work*, 50(1), 11-26.
- Heady, C. (2003). The effect of child labor on learning achievement. *World Development*, 31(2), 385-398.
- Hill, H. (2009). *Outsourcing the public library: A critical discourse analysis*. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Missouri).
- Hilson, G. (2010). Child labour in African artisanal mining communities: Experiences from Northern Ghana. *Development & Change*, 41(3), 445-473.
- Hindin, M. J. (2007). "Role theory". In George Ritzer (Ed.). *The Blackwell encyclopedia of sociology* (pp. 3959-3962). Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Honwana, A. (2006). *Child soldiers in Africa*. Baltimore, MD, US: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Hughes, S. & Haworth, N. (2009). A distant detachment: New Zealand and the ILO 1919-1945. Paper to the symposium 90 years of the ILO: The significance for Australia and New Zealand, Auckland, November 2009. Retrieved from [http://www.ilo.org/public/english/anniversary/90th/download/events/newzealand/hughes 2.pdf](http://www.ilo.org/public/english/anniversary/90th/download/events/newzealand/hughes%20.pdf)
- Ibis. (2014). Stop child labour. Retrieved from <http://ibisghana.org/campaigns/stop-child-labour/>
- Institute for Human Rights and Business. (2010). *Submission to the United Nations Human Rights Council: Universal Periodic Review Session 9: Liberia*. Retrieved from www.ihrb.org/pdf/Liberia_UPR_April2010-IHRB-FINAL.pdf.
- International Labour Organization. (n.d.a). C138 - Minimum age convention, 1973 (No. 138). Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:12100:0::NO:12100:P12100_INSTRUMENT_ID:312283:NO
- International Labour Organization. (n.d.b) ILO conventions and recommendations on child labor. Retrieved from [http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang-- en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/ipecc/facts/ILOconventionsonchildlabour/lang--en/index.htm).
- International Labour Organization. (n.d.c). Regional action plan for the elimination of child labour in ECOWAS countries. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/addisababa/countries-covered/nigeria/WCMS_303639/lang--en/index.htm
- International Labour Organization. (n.d.d). Composition of the governing body of the international labour office. Retrieved from

http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/---reloff/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_083528.pdf

International Labour Organization. (1999). Worst forms of child labour convention, C182. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/3ddb6e0c4.html>.

International Labour Organization. (2004). *Child labour: A text book for university students*. International Labour Office. Geneva: Author.

International Labour Organization. (2005). The burden of gold: Child labour in small-scale mines and quarries. Retrieved from http://ilo.org/global/publications/magazines-and-journals/world-of-work-magazine/articles/WCMS_081364/lang--en/index.htm

International Labour Organization (2006). Manual for drafting ILO instruments. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/public/english/bureau/leg/download/man.pdf>

International Labour Organization. (2007a). Fourth item on the agenda: Composition of the governing body: Criteria for geographical and country representation within the governing body. Retrieved from http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---ed_norm/---relconf/documents/meetingdocument/wcms_084513.pdf

International Labour Organization. (2007b). Girls in mining. Retrieved from <http://www.ilo.org/public/portugue/region/eurpro/lisbon/pdf/girlsmining.pdf>

International Labour Organization. (2010). Accelerating action against child labor: Global report under the follow-up to the ILO declaration on fundamental principles and rights at work: Report of the director-general. Geneva: Author.

International Labour Organization. (2012). ECOWAS Ministers of labour and social welfare adopt a regional action plan on child labour, specially its worst forms.

Retrieved from [http://www.ilo.org/ipecevents/WCMS_195519/lang--en/index.htm](http://www.ilo.org/ipecevents/WCMS_195519/lang-en/index.htm)

Jaye, T. Garuba, D. & Amadi, S. (2011). Introduction. In S. Amadi, D. Garuba, & T. Jaye. (Eds.), *ECOWAS and the dynamics of conflict and peace building (pp.1-8)*. Dakar, Senegal: Codesria.

Jenks, C. (2002). *Childhood*. London: Routledge.

Jorgensen, M. W., & Phillips, L. J. (2002). *Discourse analysis as theory and method*. London: SAGE.

Kaime, T. (2009). *The African charter on the rights and welfare of the child: A socio-legal perspective*. Pretoria: Pretoria University Law Press.

Kankam-Boadu, B. (May 23, 2013). Galamsey: The untold truth. Retrieved from <http://www.citifmonline.com/2013/05/23/galamsey-the-untold-truth/>

Karger, H., & Stoesz, D. (2014). *American social welfare policy: A pluralist approach*. Boston: Pearson.

Kawewe, S. M., & Dibie, R. (2000). The impact of economic structural adjustment programs [ESAPs] on women and children: implications for social welfare in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, 27(4), 79-107.

Keohane, R. O., Macedo, S., & Moravcsik, A. (2009). Democracy-enhancing multilateralism. *International organization*, 63(01), 1-31.

Khan, A. (2010). Discourses on childhood: Policy-making with regard to child labour in the context of competing cultural and economic preceptions. *History and Anthropology*, 21(2), 101-119.

Khaja, K. (2004). *Female circumcision: Life histories of Somali women*. (Doctoral

Dissertation, University of Utah).

Kielland, A., & Tovo, M. C. (2006). *Children at work: Child labor practices in Africa*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Kim, J., Zepeda, L., & Kantor, P. (2005). Child labour supply on us family farms: An interdisciplinary conceptualization. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 26(1), 159-173.

Klocker, N. (2011). Negotiating change: Working with children and their employers to transform child domestic work in Iringa, Tanzania. *Children's Geographies*, 9(2), 205-220.

Konadu-Agyemang, K. (2000). The best of times and the worst of times: Structural adjustment programs and uneven development. *Professional Geographer*, 52(3), 469-483.

Krauss, A. (2013). Understanding child labor in Ghana beyond poverty: The structure of the economy, social norms, and no returns to rural basic education. *World Bank Policy Research Working Paper*, (6513).

Kruger, D. I. (2007). Coffee production effects on child labor and schooling in rural Brazil. *Journal of Development Economics*, 82(2), 448-463.

Kuyini, A. B., & Mahama, F. K. (2009). Implementing child rights and protection law in Ghana: Case study. Retrieved from http://www.cevsghana.org/yahoo_site_admin/assets/docs/ImplementingChildRightsProtectionLawinGhana.26070718.pdf.

Laird, S. E. (2012). The construction of the child in Ghanaian welfare policy. In Twum-Danso, A., & Ame, R. Kwame (Eds.). *Childhoods at the intersection of the local*

and the global (pp.94-118). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Lancy, D. F. (2008). *The anthropology of childhood: Cherubs, chattel, changelings*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Latham, M. E. (2000). *Modernization as ideology: American social science and 'nation building' in the Kennedy Era*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Lauritsen, J. A. (2006). *Governing literacy: A critical Discourse analysis of the United Nations decades of literacy, 1990–2000 and 2003–2012*. (Doctoral Dissertation, Cornell University). Retrieved from <https://ecommons.cornell.edu/bitstream/handle/1813/3411/lauritsen;jsessionid=E6D53A4813FCFAEE4B003F4351F4C5C?sequence=1>

Lee, Y. (2013). *Critical discourse analysis of multicultural education policies and their local implementation in Korea*. (Doctoral Dissertation, Columbia University). Retrieved from <http://pqdtopen.proquest.com/doc/1430907037.html?FMT=AI&pubnum=358973>

5

Lieten, G. K. (2010). The ILO setting the terms in the child labour debate. In Van, D. J., García, M. R., & Van, G. G. (Eds.). (2010). *International and comparative social history, volume 12: ILO histories: Essays on the international labour organization and its impact on the world during the twentieth century* (pp. 443 – 460). Berne, IN: Peter Lang AG. Retrieved from <http://www.ebrary.com>.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishers.

- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (2000). Paradigmatic controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 163–188). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lindsay, S. M. (1934). The problem of American cooperation. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the International Labor Organization* (pp. 331-370). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Lloyd, A. (2002). Evolution of the African charter on the rights and welfare of the child and the African Committee of Experts: Raising the gauntlet. *The International Journal of Children's Rights*, 10(2), 179-198.
- Locke, T. (2004). *Critical discourse analysis*. New York, NY: Continuum International.
- Lord, J. (2011). Child labor in the Gold Coast: The economics of work, education, and the family in late-colonial African childhoods, C. 1940-57. *Journal of the History of Childhood & Youth*, 4(1), 86-115.
- Maggio, J. (2007). 'Can the subaltern be heard?': Political theory, translation, representation, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. *Alternatives: Perspectives on Society & Environment*, 32(4), 419-443.
- Mahaim, E. (1934). The historical and social importance of international labor legislation. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. 3 -18). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Manza, K. (2014). Making chocolate sweeter: How to encourage Hershey Company to clean up its supply chain and eliminate child labor. *Boston College International & Comparative Law Review*, 37(2), 389-418.

- Marlenga, B., Berg, R. L., Linneman, J. G., Brison, R. J., & Pickett, W. (2007). Changing the child labor laws for agriculture: Impact on Injury. *American Journal of Public Health*, 97(2), 276–282.
- Maul, D. (2012). *Human rights, development, and decolonization: The International Labour Organization, 1940-70*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- McPherson, C. (2010). *Examining the gap between workplace white papers and their representation in technical communication textbooks* (Doctoral dissertation, Texas Tech University). Retrieved from <http://ejournal.narotama.ac.id/files/MCPHERSON-DISSERTATION.pdf>
- Meyer, M. (2001). Between theory, method and politics: Positioning of the approaches to CDA. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds.). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp.14-31). London: Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Mills, J., Bonner, A., & Francis, K. (2006). Adopting a constructivist approach to grounded theory: Implications for research design. *International Journal of Nursing Practice*, 12(1), 8-13.
- Ministry of Education, Science and Sports, Government of Ghana. (2006). Report on the education sector annual review (ESAR) 2006. Retrieved from http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Ghana/Ghana_ESAR_2006_Report_Final.pdf
- Montgomery, H. (2009). *An introduction to childhood: Anthropological perspectives on children's lives*. Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Mutual Faith Ministries. (n.d.). Trokosi slave rescue. Retrieved from <http://www.mutualfaith.org/ministries/trokosi-slave-rescue/>

Myjoyonline. (September 20, 2014). Govt to blame for galamsey deaths – ASMAN.

Retrieved from <http://www.myjoyonline.com/news/2014/September-20th/govt-to-blame-for-galamsey-deaths-asman.php>.

Naami, A. (2010). *The impact of unemployment on women with physical disabilities in*

Tamale, Ghana (Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah). Retrieved from

<http://content.lib.utah.edu/utis/getfile/collection/etd2/id/2013/filename/1646.pdf>

National Association of Social Workers. (2008). *Code of Ethics of the National*

Association of Social Workers. Retrieved from

<http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/default.asp>

Neal, J., & Neal, Z. P. (2013). Nested or networked? Future directions for ecological

systems theory. *Social Development*, 22(4), 722-737.

Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2010). *Development theory: Deconstructions/reconstructions*.

Los Angeles: SAGE.

Nieuwenhuys, O. (1996). The paradox of child labor and anthropology. *Annual Review of*

Anthropology, 25(1), 237-251.

Nkamleu, G. B., & Kielland, A. (2006). Modeling farmers' decisions on child labor and

schooling in the cocoa sector: a multinomial logit analysis in Côte d'Ivoire.

Agricultural Economics, 35(3), 319-333.

Nkamelu, G. B. (2009). Determinants of child labour and schooling in the native cocoa

households of Côte d'Ivoire. The African Economic Research Consortium.

Retrieved from

<http://dspace.africaportal.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/32084/1/RP190.pdf?1>

- Noguchi, Y. (2002). ILO Convention No. 182 on the worst forms of child labour and the convention on the rights of the child. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 10(4), 355-369.
- Noguchi, Y. (2010). 20 years of the convention on the rights of the child and international action against child labour. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 18(4), 515-534.
- Nordtveit, B. H. (2010). Discourses of education, protection, and child labor: Case studies of Benin, Namibia and Swaziland. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 31(5), 699-712.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2008). (Mis)Understanding ECD in Africa: The force of local and imposed motives. In Garcia, M., Pence, A. R., & Evans, J. L. (Eds.). *Africa's future, Africa's challenge: Early childhood care and development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (pp. 135–249). Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Nukunya, G. K. (1999). *Kinship and marriage among the Anlo Ewe*. London: The Athlone Press.
- O'Donnell, O., Rosati, F. C., & van Doorslaer, E. (2005). Health effects of child work: Evidence from rural Vietnam. *Journal of Population Economics*, 18(3), 437-467.
- Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. (n.d). Convention on the rights of the child. Retrieved from <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx>.
- Olonisakin, F. (2011). ECOWAS: From economic integration to peace-building. In S. Amadi, D. Garuba, & T. Jaye. (Eds.), *ECOWAS and the dynamics of conflict and peace building* (pp.11-26). Dakar, Senegal: Codesria.

- Orazem, P. F., & Gunnarsson, V. (2003). *Child labour, school attendance and academic performance: A review* (No. 366541). International Labour Organization.
- Organization of African Unity. (1979). African declaration on the rights of the child. Assembly of Heads of State and Government. Sixteenth Ordinary Session, Monrovia, Liberia.
- Owusu, M. (1996). Tradition and transformation: Democracy and the politics of popular power in Ghana. *Journal of Modern African Studies*, 34(2), 307 – 343.
- Owusu-Boateng, R., Essel, R., & Mensah, J.A. (2010). Using DL to address the educational need of the Ghanaian basic School. Retrieved from http://wikieducator.org/images/c/cd/PID_240.pdf.
- Owusu Nkansah, C. (2012). Biometric register replete with underage 'potential voters'. Retrieved from <http://cliffordowusunkansah.blogspot.com/2012/11/biometric-register-replete-with.html>.
- Padgett, D, K. (2008). *Qualitative methods in social work research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Pasha, T. (2011). *Islamists in the headlines: Critical discourse analysis of the representation of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian newspapers* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Utah).
- Patton, M. (2001). *Qualitative research & evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Payson Center for International Development. (2011). Final report on the status of public and private efforts to eliminate the worst forms of child labor (WFCL) in the cocoa sectors of Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana. New Orleans: Author.

- Peter, C. M., & Mwalimu, U. A. (2012). The African charter on the rights and welfare of the child. In A.A. Yusuf & F. Ouguergouz (Eds.), *The African Union: Legal and institutional framework. A manual on the Pan-African Organization* (pp. 477–493). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV.
- Phelan, E. J. (1934a). The commission on international labor legislation. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. 127-198). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Phelan, E. J. (1934b). The labor proposals before the peace conference. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. 199-220). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Picquenard, C. (1934). French preparations. In J. T. Shotwell (Ed.). *The origins of the international labor organization* (pp. 83-96). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Pierik, R., & Houwerzijl, M. (2006). Western policies on child labor abroad. *Ethics & International Affairs (Wiley-Blackwell)*, 20(2), 193-218.
- Poole, B. (2010). Commitment and criticality: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis evaluated. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 20(2), 137-155.
- Post, M. D. (2009). *Representations of meaning within textual personas: An analysis of 2008 US presidential campaign speeches*. (Masters Dissertation, University of Birmingham, England). Retrieved from <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/cels/essays/appliedlinguistics/RepresentationsofMeaning-DissertationMPost.pdf>

Problem. n.d. In Merriam-Webster.com. Retrieved August 10, 2015, from

<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/problem>.

Punch, S., & Tisdall, E. M. (2012). Exploring children and young people's relationships across majority and minority worlds. *Children's Geographies*, 10(3), 241-248.

Rapkin, D. P., & Strand, J. R. (2006). Reforming the IMF's weighted voting system. *The World Economy*, 29(3), 305-324.

Ray, R. (2000). Child labor, child schooling, and their interaction with adult labor: Empirical evidence for Peru and Pakistan. *World Bank Economic Review*, 14(2), 347-367.

Razack, N. (2009). Decolonizing the pedagogy and practice of international social work. *International Social Work*, 52(1), 9-21.

Rebouché, R. (2006). Labor, land, and women's rights in Africa: Challenges for the new protocol on the rights of women. *Harvard Human Rights Journal*, 19, 235-256

Rodgers, G., Lee, E., Swepston, L., & Van Daele, J. (2009). The international labour organization and the quest for social justice, 1919-2009. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=books>

Rodríguez, C., & Sánchez, F. (2012). Armed conflict exposure, human capital investments, and child labor: Evidence from Colombia. *Defence & Peace Economics*, 23(2), 161-184.

Ross, W. (2007, November 28). Ghana 'child trafficking' arrests. BBC News.

Retrieved from <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/7117997.stm>.

- Saad-Lessler, J. (2010). A cross-national study of child labor and its determinants. *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 325-344.
- Saichaie, K. (2011, April). *Representation on college and university websites: An approach using critical discourse analysis*. (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Iowa). Retrieved from <http://ir.uiowa.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2456&context=etd>
- Said, E. (1977). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin.
- Scott, J. C. (1998). *Seeing like a State: How certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shabazz, S. (2008, February 21). Firestone challenged on labor practices in Liberia. *New York Amsterdam News*.
- Shelburne, R. C. (2001). An explanation of the international variation in the prevalence of child labour. *World Economy*, 24(3), 359 – 378.
- Smith, D. (n.d). Law in layman's terms: Experts urge clarity over complexity in legal writing. *North Carolina Lawyers Weekly*.
- Smolin, D. M. (1999). Conflict and ideology in the international campaign against child labour. *Hofstra Labor & Employment Law Journal*, 16(2), 383-451.
- Soares, R. R., Kruger, D., & Berthelon, M. (2012). Household choices of child labor and schooling: A simple model with application to Brazil. *Journal of Human Resources*, 47(1), 1-31.
- Somasundaram, D. (2002). Child soldiers: Understanding the context. *BMJ (Clinical Research Ed.)*, 324(7348), 1268-1271.

- Sousa, C., & Araújo, C. (2011). The ethical rights of children: Yesterday and today. *Pediatric Nursing*, 37(3), 141-144.
- Spivak, G. C. (1994). "Can the subaltern speak?" In Williams, P. and Chrisman, L. (Eds.) *Colonial discourse and post-colonial theory: A reader* (pp. 66–111). Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Stearns, P. N. (2005). *Growing up: The history of childhood in a global context*. Waco, TX. : Baylor University Press.
- Stearns, P. N. (2006). *Childhood in world history*. New York: Routledge.
- Stempel, J. (2011, July 12). Firestone wins Liberian child labor case in U.S. *Reuters*. Retrieved from <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/07/12/us-firestone-childlabor-idUSTRE76B62Z20110712>
- Stevenson, S. (2001). The rise and decline of state-funded community centres: A textually oriented discourse. *Canadian Journal of Library and Information Science*, 26(2/3), 51-75.
- Stitzlein, S. M. (2009). Getting into the habit: using historical science to understand race in contemporary schools. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 12(3), 401-416.
- Tai Wei, L. (2014). Multilateralism and dependency theory. *African & Asian Studies*, 13(1/2), 80-99.
- Takyi-Amoako, E. (2010). Examining the current aid effectiveness paradigm through education policy making in an aid dependent country. *The International Journal of Educational and Psychological Assessment*, 5(2), 191-205.
- Tamburro, A. (2013). Including decolonization in social work education and practice. *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 2(1), 1-16.

- Thyer, B. A., Dulmus, C. N., & Sowers, K. M. (Eds.). (2012). *Human behavior in the social environment: Theories for social work practice*. Hoboken, N.J.: John Wiley & Sons.
- Teer-Tomaselli, R. (2015). Empire and broadcasting in the interwar years: Towards a consideration of public broadcasting in the British dominions. *Critical Arts: A South- North Journal of Cultural & Media Studies*, 29(1), 77-93.
- Tenorio, E. H. (2011). Critical discourse analysis, an overview. *Nordic Journal of English Studies*, 10(1), 183-210.
- Tetteh, P. (2011). Child domestic labour in (Accra) Ghana: A child and gender rights issue?. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 19(2), 217-232.
- Turner, F. (Ed.). (2011). *Social work treatment: Interlocking theoretical approaches* (5th ed.). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Twum-Danso, A. (2008). A cultural bridge, not an imposition: Legitimizing children's rights in the eyes of local communities. *The Journal for the History of Childhood and Youth* 1(3): 391–413.
- Twum-Danso, A. (2009). Reciprocity, respect and responsibility: The 3rs underlying parent-child relationships in Ghana and the implications for children's rights. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 17, 415-432.
- Twum-Danso, A. (2011). Assessing the progress of the 1998 children's act of Ghana: Achievements, opportunities, and challenges of the first ten years. *Robert K. Ame, DeBrenna L. Agbenyiga., & Nana A. Apt. Children's Rights in Ghana: Reality or Rhetoric*, 151-168.

United Nations Cyber School Bus. (n.d). Declaration of the rights of the child. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/cyberschoolbus/humanrights/resources/child.asp>.

United Nations Documents: Gathering a Body of Global Agreements. (n.d). Geneva declaration of the rights of the child Retrieved from <http://www.un-documents.net/gdrc1924.htm>.

United States Department of Labor. (2014). Annual reports. Retrieved from <http://www.refworld.org/publisher/USDOL.html>

United States Department of Labor Bureau of International Affairs. (n.d.). Ghana: 2013 findings on the worst forms of child labor. Retrieved from <http://www.dol.gov/ilab/reports/child-labor/findings/2013TDA/ghana.pdf>

Van Daele, J. (2005). Engineering social peace: Networks, ideas, and the founding of the international labour organization. *International Review of Social History*, 50(3), 435-466.

Van Dijk, T.A. (1988). *News analysis: Case studies of international and national news in the press*. Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2008). *Discourse and power*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2008). *Discourse and practice: New tools for critical discourse analysis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Veerman, P. E. (2010). The ageing of the UN convention on the rights of the child. *International Journal of Children's Rights*, 18(4), 585-618.

Villanueva Ulfgard, R., & Alejo Jaime, A. (2014). New multilateralism and governmental mechanisms for including civil society during Mexico's presidency of the G20 in 2012. *Third World Quarterly*, 35(8), 1529-1546.

- Webster, C. (2007). *Understanding race and crime*. Berkshire, Eng: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Whimster, S. (2003). *The essential Weber: A reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Widdowson, H. (2004). *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Willerton, R. (2013). Teaching white papers through client projects. *Business Communication Quarterly*, 76(1), 105-113.
- Williams, T. P., Binagwaho, A., & Betancourt, T. S. (2012). Transactional sex as a form of child sexual exploitation and abuse in Rwanda: Implications for child security and protection. *Child abuse & neglect*, 36(4), 354-361.
- Wilson, A. (1980). The infancy of the history of childhood: An appraisal of Philippe Aries. *History & Theory*, 19(2), 132 – 153.
- Wodak, R. (2001). What CDA is about – summary of its history, important concepts and its developments. In R. Wodak & M. Meyer (Eds.) *Methods of discourse analysis* (pp.1-13). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2001). *Methods of critical discourse analysis*. London: Sage.
- Wodak, R., & Meyer, M. (2009). Critical discourse analysis: History, agenda, theory, and methodology. In R. Wodak, & M. Meyer (Eds). *Methods of critical discourse analysis* (pp. 1-32). (2nd ed.). London: Sage.
- Wood, L. A., & Kroger, R. O. (2000). *Doing discourse analysis: Methods for studying action in talk and text*. Sage Publications.
- Zelizer, V. A. (1985). *Pricing the priceless child: The changing social value of children*. New York: Basic Books.

- Zensius, A. (2012). *Inside the cocoa pod: An analysis of the Harkin-Engel Protocol in Cote d'Ivoire* (Master's Thesis, Georgetown University). Retrieved from https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/557857/Zensius_georgetown_0076M_11724.pdf?sequence=1
- Zimmerman, M. A. (2013). Resiliency theory: A strengths-based approach to research and practice for adolescent health. *Health Education & Behavior*, 40(4), 381-383.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Isaac Karikari

EDUCATION

Indiana University – Purdue University, Indianapolis PhD
2016

Dissertation: Child labor: A critical discourse analysis

University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah MSW
2012

Concentration: Global Social Work

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana B.A
2008

Degree in Sociology and Social Work

Thesis: Motivation and job performance in the police service at the
Central Police Station, Kumasi.

FURTHER EDUCATION

Alliance Francaise, Ghana Diploma in French 2010
Ghana Institute of Languages Certificate in Spanish 2010

APPOINTMENTS

Academic

Indiana University School of Graduate Assistant 2012-Present
Social Work

Responsibilities include conducting interviews for research projects, developing presentations for conferences and symposia, developing manuscripts for publications and analyzing data.

College of Social Work, Graduate Assistant 2010-2012
University of Utah.

Responsibilities included developing and reviewing manuscripts for publications, entering and cleaning research data.

Kwame Nkrumah University Teaching/Research Assistant 2008-2010
of Science and Technology,
Ghana.

Responsibilities included organizing tutorials for students, grading, developing manuscripts for publication, and preparing presentations for conferences.

OTHER

University Neighborhood Social Work Intern 2011 - 2012
Partnerships, Utah.

Provided support services for refugees and immigrants: community mobilization and advocacy, individual and family counseling, crisis counseling, inter-agency and community resource coordination, coordination of translation services, coordinating after-school learning services and creative activities.

Holy Cross Ministries, Salt Lake City, Utah. Social Work Intern 2010 - 2011

Responsibilities included individual and group counseling with students, crisis counseling, coordinating after-school learning and creative activities, class presentations on health and positive/pro-social behavior.

HONORS AND AWARDS

| | |
|------|---|
| 2016 | Jerry Powers Esprit Award |
| 2015 | Diversity Emissary |
| 2015 | Elite 50 Award |
| 2015 | Student Council of the Year Award (Underrepresented and Professional Student Organization) |

TEACHING

Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis

Adjunct Faculty (Fall 2015)

History and Analysis of Social Welfare Policy

Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, Ghana.

Teaching/Research Assistant (August 2008 to July 2010).

Courses

Nature of Social Work

Sociology of Religion

CURRENT RESEARCH ACTIVITY

Social Health Association Bully Free Indy Initiative (Ongoing)

Roles: Conducting review of literature, interviewing research participants, transcribing and analyzing data.

Relationships Among School Based Extracurricular Activities, School Bonding, and School Outcomes: School Setting Mediation and Moderation Effects (Ongoing)

Roles: Recruitment of study participants

SERVICE

| | |
|---|------|
| PhD Planning Committee, Member | 2015 |
| Indiana University School of Social Work. | |

| | |
|---|------|
| General Fee Advisory Board, Member | 2015 |
| Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. | |

Discussant and reviewer of the allocation of funds to offices and groups on the IUPUI campus.

| | | |
|---|--------|-------------|
| Multidisciplinary Undergraduate Research Institute (MURI) Mentor, Indiana University – Purdue University, Indianapolis. | Mentor | 2014 - 2015 |
|---|--------|-------------|

Mentored undergraduate students.

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Underrepresented Professional and Graduate Student Organization. | President | 2014-2015 |
|--|-----------|-----------|

Organized programs and created support systems for underrepresented students e.g. peer mentoring, and finals week coffee breaks, CV and resume workshops.
Created avenues for interdisciplinary engagement among students, and faculty/staff and student engagement, facilitated panel discussions.

| | | |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| Graduate and Professional Student Government, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis | Secretary School of Social Work Representative/ Educational Enhancement Grants Committee Member | 2014-2015 2013-2014 2012 |
|--|--|--------------------------------|

| | | |
|---|------------|-----------|
| Global Voices Speakers, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. | Discussant | 2013-2014 |
|---|------------|-----------|

Discussant on international culture, traditions, religion and civic engagement.

| | | |
|--|-----------|--------------|
| Bridges International, Indiana University-Purdue University, Indianapolis. | President | 2012-Present |
|--|-----------|--------------|

Facilitated inter-faith dialogues.

Organized English communication classes and programs to facilitate the acclimatization of international students to the Indianapolis community.

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| African Students Union, University of Utah | Secretary | 2011-2012 |
|--|-----------|-----------|

Recorded minutes for meetings. Organized socials and cultural awareness programs.

PRESENTATIONS

Poster Presentations

Karikari, I., Brown, J. R. & Storms, J. (2016, April). School principals and social workers: Addressing their roles in bully prevention. *20th Annual PhD Spring Research Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

Karikari, I. & Brown, J. R. (2015, May). Bus drivers and school bullying: Where is the help? *19th Annual PhD Spring Research Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

Center for Research and Learning Multidisciplinary Undergraduate and Research Unit
(2015, April). **A Case Study of Extracurricular Activities in Central Indiana.**
Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis Research Day, Indiana, IN

Danh, M. & **Karikari, I.** (2014, May). The effects of beginning social workers' perceived self-efficacy. *18th Annual PhD Spring Research Symposium*, Indiana University School of Social Work, Indianapolis, IN.

Gentle-Genitty, C., **Karikari, I.**, Gauss, C., Cudjoe, T., & Nichter, S. (2014, April). Determining evidence based properties of M.O.P. civic education school discipline program. *Indiana University-Purdue University-Indianapolis Research Day*, Indiana, IN.

Gentle-Genitty, C., **Karikari, I.**, Kim, J., & Hutcherson, A. (2014, April). Impacts of school bonding on problem behaviors: Ethnic differences. *Indiana University-Purdue University- Indianapolis Research Day*, Indiana, IN.

Karikari, I. (2012, March). Ghana: Worst forms of child labor and child trafficking. *75th Anniversary of the College of Social Work*, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT.

Conference Presentations

Brown, J. R. & **Karikari, I.** (November, 2015). Whole school anti-bullying program buy in or a-la-carte? Is cutting back on whole school programs worth the risk?. *2015 International Bullying Prevention Association Annual Conference*, Denver, CO.

Karikari, I. (August, 2014). Student leadership: Looking beyond the school, traversing the world. *2014 Project Leadership Conference*, Indiana University–Purdue University-Indianapolis, IN.

Rich, R., Gentle-Genitty, C., Simplis, K. & **Karikari, I.** (August, 2014). Psychology and the helping professions in Belize. Historical past and present realities. *122 Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association (APA)*. Washington, DC.

PUBLICATIONS

Refereed Journal Articles

Akakpo, T. F., Brown, J. R., Sheikh, I., & **Karikari, I.** (Submitted for Initial Review).
The impact of integration into mainstream society on welfare dependence: A
community study of Somali refugees in a Midwestern City. *International Journal
of Intercultural Relations*.

Gentle-Genitty, C., **Karikari, I.**, Chen, H., Wilka, E., & Kim, J. (2015).
Truancy: A Look at Definitions in the USA and Other Territories.
Educational Studies, 41(1-2), 62-90.

Gentle-Genitty, C., Chen, H., **Karikari, I.** & Barnett, C. (2014). Social work
theory and application to practice. *Journal of Higher Education Theory
and Practice*, 14(1), 36-47.

Book Chapters

Karikari, I., & Bettmann, J. E. (2013). Introduction - International practice issues.
In J.E. Bettmann, G. Jacques, & C. Frost (Eds.). *International social work
practice: Case studies from a global context* (pp. 1-12). New York:
Routledge.

Bettmann, J. E., & **Karikari, I.** (2013). Attachment process in wilderness
therapy. In J. E., Bettmann & D.D. Friedman (Eds.) *Attachment-based
clinical social work with children and adolescents* (pp. 219 – 232). New
York: Springer.

Frost, C., & **Karikari, I.** (2013). Concluding remarks. In J. E. Bettmann, G.
Jacques & C. Frost (Eds.). *International social work practice: Case
studies from a global context* (pp. 246-252). New York: Routledge.